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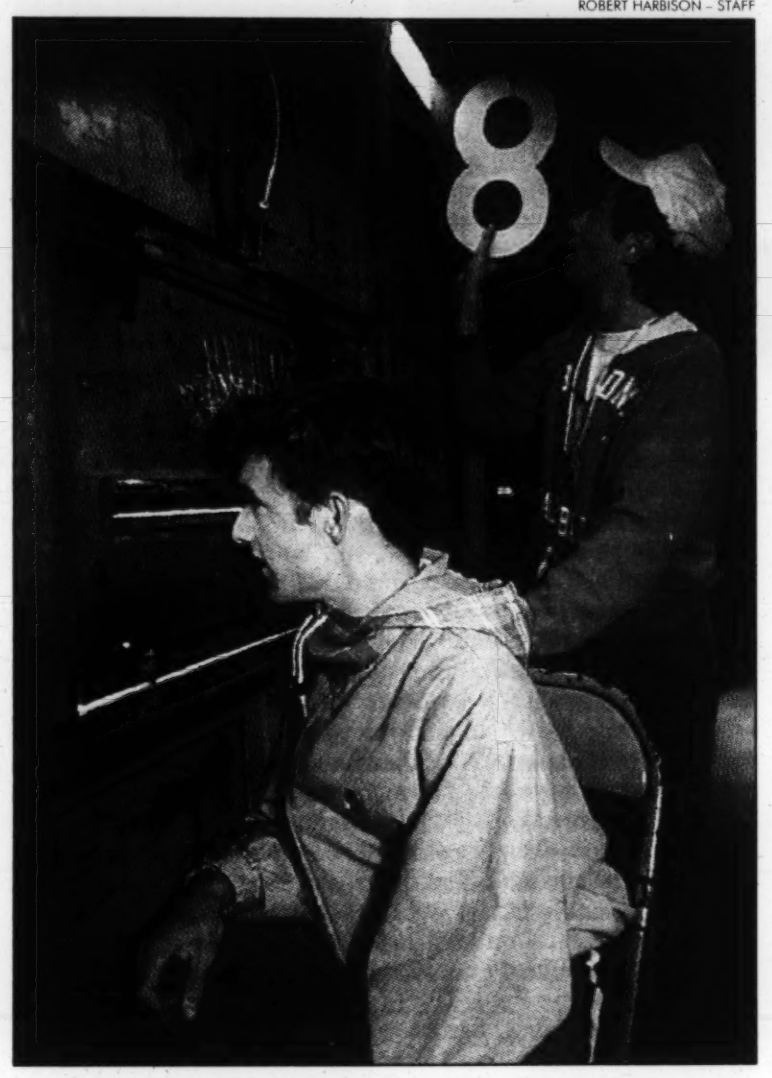
ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF



Inside the Green Monster
Red Sox employees Richard Maloney (front) and Chris Elias keep track of game action from inside the manually operated scoreboard at Boston's Fenway Park. The seats are great, but the view is through a 1-by-9-inch slit. **PAGE 10.**

Democrats Seize Offensive On Deficit-Reduction Plan

Republicans slammed for trying to 'protect the rich' from tax hikes

By Linda Feldmann
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

AS Democratic senators were voting at week's end on a deficit-reduction package that threatened to paint them as "tax and spend" liberals, party leaders finally found their voice in countering the Republican spin against the president's plan.

It was the Republicans themselves who gave the Democrats the hook on which to hang their message: the unveiling on Wednesday of their own budget proposal. The Republican plan contained no tax increases, just spending cuts – largely unspecified reductions in spending on government benefits.

The Republican plan was rejected by the Senate Wednesday in a procedural vote, 55-43. But they made their point.

Democrats, from President Clinton on down, wasted no time in slamming the Republicans. The president complained Wednesday that they aimed only to "protect the privileged and punish the middle class and the most vulnerable."

Speaking at a Monitor breakfast yesterday, House Speaker Thomas Foley (D) of Washington continued the theme: "I think if I have a fundamental belief as a Democrat vis-à-vis the Republicans, it's that they have an instinctive, visceral desire to protect higher-income Americans from [contributing] a fair share of public finance and support.

"And they're at it again," Mr. Foley said. "The only group in the country. Every other group is being asked to do something – farmers, workers, people who are Social Security recipients, people who receive government programs, students. Go down the list. The one group that the Republican Party doesn't want to have any participation in deficit reduction are people who earn over $200,000 a year."

Foley suggested that if Mr. Clinton had made a mistake in the selling of his package, it was in creating the impression that the middle class would bear much of the burden in new taxes.

That is not true, he added, cit-

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Squelching of Nigerian Elections Is Problematic for the West, Africans

By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NAIROBI, KENYA

THE decision by Nigeria's military dictator, President Ibrahim Babangida, to scrap the results of the country's recent presidential election – judged generally free and fair by foreign observers – has serious implications for the West as well as for Africa.

It also poses a dilemma for Nigerians: If they react violently to the decision, the military could clamp down even further, possibly wiping out democratic gains the country has made in recent years, said several Nigerians contacted by telephone.

For the Clinton administration, the events in Nigeria provide a chance to show how serious its pro-democracy policy for Africa is and how effective such a policy can be.

After the cancellation of the election results was announced in Nigeria on Wednesday, US State Department officials said they were cutting about $1 million in aid to Nigeria immediately and reviewing another $22 million the United States had promised.

But US aid to Nigeria is so minuscule compared with the country's gross domestic product of $5.4 billion that a cutoff is not likely to have much impact.

Other American options include withdrawing the US ambassador and imposing economic sanctions, possibly in concert with European nations. British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said yesterday Britain was halting its military aid to Nigeria and reviewing all other assistance.

If the US, and possibly other countries, stopped buying Nige-

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CALIFORNIA PROTEST

Counties Bear the Brunt Of State's Austerity Budget

By Scott Armstrong
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LOS ANGELES

INSIDE the cavernous chamber, around an oak half-moon desk, Los Angeles County supervisors were playing what has become a painfully familiar game – swing the scythe at the county budget.

The target on this day: lifeguards. Supervisors want to stop providing lifeguard service at all state beaches in the county. Before taking any definitive steps, though, one supervisor had a question:

If someone drowns because we don't have any lifeguards out there, who is liable?

The exchange typifies the kinds of decisions local governments up and down California may have to make in the wake of a state budget cobbled together this week in Sacramento.

While the proposed $52 billion spending plan exacts pain from

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Watching Over Boston
The city's mayor has played an unusually active role in police affairs. Part 3 in a series on Raymond Flynn's legacy.
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Economic Troubles Roil Key Industrial Nations
But developing countries are enjoying more rapid growth, lifting living standards for a large majority in the world.
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Next Week in the Monitor

- Young black South Africans who gave up school to protest are called a 'lost generation.' **Monday.**
- US farmers are slowly adopting agricultural practices that reduce the use of chemicals. **Tuesday.**
- A selection of the summer's new fiction offers good reading for the beach or the backyard. **Friday.**

ASIA • UPDATE

Cairns Group Pushes Reform Of Farm Trade

WHEN Europe pleads it has 9-million-to-10-million farmers to protect, the Cairns Group smiles wryly. This alliance of 14 countries pushing for a conclusion of world trade talks represents 130 million farmers. They are mostly from small countries, individually without much global clout. But collectively, they are trying to keep the US and Europe on track in coming to agreement on agricultural trade reform.

Ministers of the Cairns Group will meet in Bangkok June 26-27 to establish ways in which to get across their concerns about the Uruguay Round of talks on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The meeting was carefully timed before the leaders of the Group of Seven leading industrialized countries hold a summit meeting in Tokyo July 7-9, with the intent of sending a strong message: It's time to wrap things up.

The Cairns Group is made up of representatives from: Australia (the chair), New Zealand, Fiji, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Canada, Hungary, and Indonesia.

What these countries have in common is an interest in agricultural trade reform. They have a higher proportion of their gross domestic product, their exports, and their employment in agriculture than the industrialized countries. And they cannot compete in world markets until agricultural subsidies and other trade barriers come down.

The Cairns Group has established itself as a "third force" in the world trade negotiations.

Its main objective is to scale back agricultural protectionism and subsidy practices that give more developed countries an edge in world markets. For example, Australia wants US subsidies on wheat, sugar, and powdered milk exports lifted, because they hurt Australian farmers.

The group supports a three-pronged attack on distortion in agricultural trade: increased access to markets, reduction in export subsidies, and a requirement to limit internal subsidies to farmers that encourage overproduction.

– Catherine Foster

INTERNATIONAL

UN Peacekeeper Under Fire

Former Canadian commander in Bosnia accepted speech payments from Serb group

By Mark Clayton
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

A FORMER top Canadian peacekeeper is under fire – not from hostile armed forces, but the press.

Last year Maj. Gen. Lewis MacKenzie and the United Nations forces under his command endured six months of sniper fire and artillery barrages to keep the Sarajevo airport open for relief flights. And, he negotiated several cease-fires in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Few in the Canadian military enjoy the respect now-retired General MacKenzie does. A Toronto newspaper columnist called him "the closest thing Canada has had to a military hero" in decades.

Early this week, however, Canadians found their peacekeeping hero fighting to retain his credibility. New York Newsday and the Toronto Star reported Tuesday that a MacKenzie speaking tour last month was financed by the Serbian-American group SerbNet. The group's goal, Newsday said, is to dispel the view that Serb forces are responsible for most atrocities and "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia.

Advocacy-group funding does not violate any laws. But some say that because MacKenzie did not disclose the Serb payments during his appearances or prior to testifying before Congress last month, it may undercut his credibility.

"It's more than just an appearance of impropriety," says George Kenney, a former US State Department desk officer for Yugoslavia, who resigned because of lack of US action to halt Serbian atrocities. "What he has done doesn't entirely call into question his credibility, but it has done it some serious damage."

MacKenzie told Newsday he had done nothing improper. But he also said he "wouldn't be surprised" if speeches the Serbs paid for had fetched his customary fee of $10,000 per appearance. He denied knowing how much the group had paid him, saying his agent handled the matter.

IN a telephone interview with the Monitor Wednesday, MacKenzie said he has not yet received a full accounting of how much SerbNet paid him. But his agent told him the group paid for two speeches, not the entire tour of a dozen or more appearances. He said he did not discover until just before he was to deliver the second of two SerbNet-sponsored talks that Serbs were paying.

"I...didn't feel it presented an ethical dilemma," MacKenzie said. "I would consider it [a conflict of interest] if I changed my pitch, if I changed the script. But the script has been exactly the same for approximately 250 presentations."

That script, however, outrages many who contend that it misrepresents the extent of Serbian atrocities.

Mackenzie told the House Armed Services Committee last month that "dealing with Bosnia is a little bit like dealing with three serial killers – one has killed 15, one has killed 10, one has killed 5. Do we help the one that's only killed five?"

Such views, Mackenzie said, simply reflect the on-the-ground reality in Bosnia. But others say his comments conflict with US, UN, and human rights group reports that single out Serbian forces as bearing the main responsibility for atrocities.

"I don't know why MacKenzie buys into these pro-Serbian positions," says Mr. Kenney, who adds that MacKenzie's stand against armed intervention in Bosnia before Congress softened US lawmakers' resolve to intervene.

"The allegation that my views are in opposition to the UN report on atrocities, including rape and ethnic cleansing, is untrue," MacKenzie responds. "They are not, and they never have been, and I've never made any such statement."

Russian Reforms Spark Miners' Discontent

By Justin Burke
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

RUSSIAN coal miners, long considered among Boris Yeltsin's staunchest supporters, are threatening to turn on the Russian president following a government decision to free coal prices.

A presidential decree on June 21 called for halting large government subsidies to the coal industry and introducing free prices by July 1. Finance Minister Boris Fyodorov said such a move would ease intense pressure on the Russian budget.

But the decision appears to have caused the miners' patience with the reformist government to snap. Miners have been upset with the government for delays in salary payments and non-fulfillment of a February tariff agreement. Now, miners' union leaders warn that free prices could force the closure of up to half of Russia's coal mines, as well as cripple industrial production, because industries will not be able to afford higher prices.

"This decision could develop into an uncontrollable process that could totally collapse the economy," says Vladimir Katalnikov, a miners' union leader from the southern city of Rostov-on-Don.

"If we can't find a mutually satisfactory compromise with the government on this issue we will start making political demands – even [for] the resignation of Yeltsin himself," adds Mr. Katalnikov, speaking at a protest yesterday of 100 miners in front of the Council of Ministers in Moscow.

STR/AFP

PRESIDENT YELTSIN: *His decree ends subsidies to coal industry and frees prices by July 1.*

The miners say the relatively small protests of today could erupt into large-scale civil disobedience if the government does not change course. "We're not joking anymore," says Alexander Bezuglov, one of the protesting miners. "Either the government acts, or it goes."

Attempting to avert a confrontation, Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin has proposed establishing a coal-industry support fund, to be in place July 1. He also told miners that freeing prices would occur in stages to soften its effect, the Interfax news agency reported.

The highly subsidized energy sector has been one of the main impediments to market reform in Russia. Some government reformers say free coal prices are long overdue. Despite skyrocketing inflation, coal prices have remained steady at about 400 rubles (40 cents) a ton since September, meaning the cash-strapped government has had to cover the difference. The miners, however, say the government is ignoring the social ramifications of its actions.

"Some people say this is a coup for the reformers, but it's not because there's no safety net in place. Implementation could mean a social and political disaster," says Mary Louise Vitelli, director of the Coal Project for the US-based Partners in Economic Reform, which advises the Russian coal industry.

The World Bank and other Western organizations are organizing an emergency aid package to establish a safety net for the miners, thus easing their opposition to free prices. But the effort faces bureaucratic hurdles, Ms. Vitelli says.

As for industries, Vitelli adds, freeing coal prices could have undesirable consequences, causing factories to turn to oil, instead of coal. "If they start using more oil for domestic needs, it'll deprive them of much-needed foreign revenue," she says.

Reaction to world conflicts threatens to undo progress on rights declaration

Women's Rights, 'Universality' Gain at UN Rights Conference

By Christopher Reardon
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

VIENNA

FOLLOWING a two-year campaign to place their concerns on the agenda, women's rights activists have emerged as the surest winners at the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights, which concludes today.

Nevertheless, reaction to the conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Angola threatens to undo some of women's gains by casting doubt on whether the conference will produce a final declaration. Yesterday 52 Islamic nations said they would not sign the declaration unless the conference also adopted a document condemning Serbian aggression in Bosnia. A group of African nations took a similar stand on Angola.

"To end in a stalemate would be a terrible shame and a great loss for women," says Lael Stegall, one of nearly 1,000 women's rights activists at the conference. "But we won't give up here."

At stake for women are several recommendations in the draft declaration that would strengthen the UN's ability to protect women from human rights abuses. They include considering the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women and calling on the UN to strengthen the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). A third proposal urges the UN to integrate women's rights in all of its activities.

Others who stand to lose if the declaration is not adopted include indigenous people, who won support for preparing a declaration affirming their rights to land and self-determination. As the conference draws to a close, they and nearly 3,000 other activists are making their final pleas to government delegates for a binding commitment to protect human rights, an outcome most participants consider unlikely.

Unlike many issues under consideration, such as whether developing countries will agree to accept the universality of human rights, the recommendations on women's rights passed the drafting committee without objection. Declaration or no, as women's rights activists continue to chip away at the wall of privacy that shields many male abusers from prosecution, governments may soon have to reckon with gender-specific forms of abuse.

"Women look around at their lives and notice a funny thing – the abuses we suffer don't seem to count," says Geraldine Ferraro, a United States delegate to the conference. "Yet there are so many human rights violations that are particular to women." They include not only incest and rape, she says, but also infanticide and dowry deaths.

More than 1,000 people listened to victims of abuse at a Global Tribunal on Violations of Women's Human Rights, organized by the Center for Women's Global Leadership at Rutgers University and other women's groups. The tribunal featured harrowing testimony from 33 victims of such abuses as domestic violence, wartime rape, genital mutilation, and economic discrimination. One woman had been forced into prostitution in the Netherlands, and another into sexual slavery in Korea. Two more had been set aflame: one by a husband in India and the other by a boyfriend in Brazil. Others spoke of being raped in Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia.

YUN SUKBONG/REUTERS/FILE

PROTEST: *South Koreans last year rallied to force Japan to apologize for the Japanese military's abuse of Korean women during WWII. Women appear to have succeeded in placing abuse of women on the global rights agenda.*

Elizabeth Odio, a member of the UN Committee Against Torture, reflected on the cases, saying "The international definition of torture, which means acts intended to cause suffering, applies to every case we heard."

Already women's rights organizations are looking beyond the Vienna conference to find ways to combat such violence. Some are developing campaigns to push for adoption of the Draft Declaration on Violence Against Women when it comes up before the UN General Assembly this fall.

Many US organizations are looking for ways to win congressional ratification of CEDAW, an objective shared by the Clinton administration. Groups from Africa and Asia are planning tribunals for women who have suffered human rights abuses in Costa Rica, Mali, Burma, Thailand, and Japan. Most are gearing up for the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing.

Mandela-Buthelezi Meeting Produces Mixed Results

By John Battersby
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JOHANNESBURG

A NINE-HOUR meeting here between two black leaders who hold the key to peace in this country and its political future failed to score a breakthrough on the transition to democracy but produced an agreement which could help to stop escalating political violence.

African National Congress (ANC) President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi emerged from the marathon meeting on Wednesday without agreement on a date for South Africa's first free election.

But they agreed on steps to promote peace and political tolerance and appeared to reestablish a personal relationship that had broken down completely since their last meeting in January 1991.

"I think there has been a loosening up on both sides, and they have created channels of communication," said Oscar Dhlomo, chairman of the independent Institute for Multi-Party Democracy and a former secretary-general of the IFP.

"I suspect that agreement on an election date is now imminent and that there are no major differences of principle between them on the transition to democracy," Dr. Dhlomo says.

But within hours of the meeting's ending, a multiparty group in charge of guiding the country toward democracy decided to postpone a crucial meeting until July 2. The meeting was to have finalized a proposed election date – April 27, 1994 – and laid out the powers of a commission to oversee the country's first democratic ballot.

The postponement means that an agreement on an election date will take place hours before Mr. Mandela and President Frederik de Klerk meet President Clinton in Washington in the afternoon of July 2. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk will jointly receive the Philadelphia Freedom Award on July 4.

United States officials are hoping that agreement on an election date and a multiracial Transitional Executive Council will be reached before the July 2 meeting with Mr. Clinton so that Mandela can use the July 4 ceremony to call for the lifting of remaining international sanctions – particularly by US states and cities – and call for investment in South Africa.

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have indicated that they are ready to resume loans to South Africa once black leaders give the go-ahead. A bill before the US Senate would open the way for US support for World Bank and IMF loans as soon as the negotiating parties agree on an election date and a transitional authority.

Mandela, who looked tired after the meeting, was clearly disappointed.

"We did not achieve the breakthrough we hoped for," he said, referring to the failure to agree on a date.

Chief Buthelezi said the discussions would make a major contribution to peace but did not amount to "a magic wand that will make violence vanish."

IN an interview with state-run television immediately after the meeting, Buthelezi insisted that the principle of federalism and the powers of federal states must be enshrined in constitutional principles before an election can be held.

"It is our understanding that the ANC is prepared to enshrine both the principle of federalism and the powers of regions in the constitutional principles," says a diplomat close to the talks. "That would seem to meet what Buthelezi is asking for."

Looking at the negotiations from Buthelezi's viewpoint, the IFP leader chose the correct moment to fight his battle on federalism, says political scientist Mervyn Frost, a professor at the University of Natal at Durban.

"He is insisting that specific powers of regions should be entrenched in the constitution before an election and that the principle be established that they could be changed only with a special majority of the regions concurring," he says. "He wants to be sure that a future federal constitution entrenches his powers in Natal Province before he agrees to an election."

On the issue of violence, the two leaders agreed to establish joint mechanisms to promote peace and political tolerance.

The meeting did attain its objective from the point of view of church leaders, says John Allen, spokesman for Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who jointly chaired the meeting with Methodist leader Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

"The message to the supporters of the two parties is that if their leaders can sit down together and have a long session and then shake hands – they can do the same," Mr. Allen says.

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ing a Congressional Budget Office analysis that 78 percent of the new tax burden would be placed on people who earn more than $200,000.

Democrats have been put in a tough spot over this deficit-reduction bill. They want to support the president and they want to cut the deficit, but they also want to be reelected.

Even though, as Foley says, Clinton's package would place most of the burden of new taxation on the wealthy, every American will feel at least some aspect of the bill – higher prices for energy, cuts in Medicare and Medicaid, higher taxes on Social Security for middle- and upper-income pensioners. And every Democratic senator who votes for the bill, especially the 20 who will be up for reelection next year, can envision the negative ad campaigns Republicans will cook up.

So when a House-Senate conference begins next week to work out compromise legislation that resolves the differences between the House and Senate bills, political salability will be uppermost in members' minds.

Foley foresees some form of energy tax in the final bill. The House went along with Clinton's proposal for a "Btu tax" – a tax on various forms of energy based on their heat content – while the Senate, at press time, appeared set to go for a 4.3-cents-a-gallon gasoline tax.

Foley says other aspects of the House bill that have been modified by the Senate will be worked over in conference.

These include empowerment zones to boost business investment in poor areas and the increase in the earned-income tax credit.

The Speaker predicts that the conference will end sometime between July 12 and Aug. 6.

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almost everyone, its impact is expected to fall hardest on local governments – particularly counties.

Indeed, the document is threatening to spawn a California Tea Party: Many counties are vowing, as a protest, not to send their property taxes in to the state.

The whole process provides a case study of the difficulty of fashioning a budget in the face of an incessant recession.

"This is a super-austerity budget," says Bud Lembke, editor of Political Pulse, a Sacramento newsletter.

The good news for California is that there may be a budget at all before the July 1 start of the next fiscal year. Last year, Republican Gov. Pete Wilson and the Democratic-controlled Legislature quarreled over a spending plan into September – a 63-day delay that plunged the state into its worst financial crisis since the Great Depression and left the public even less enamored with its representatives than usual.

Both sides have been determined not to repeat the same debacle this year. The state Assembly and Senate have signed off on the general outlines of the spending plan. Lawmakers were still haggling over the details yesterday.

Governor Wilson doesn't want to affix his signature to the measure until all the decimals are in place. If another impasse doesn't occur, the state will have a budget before July 1 for the first time since 1986.

Lassen County, planning to lay off one-third of its 90-member work force, would have eight sheriff's deputies to patrol an area the size of Connecticut.

"It would be Sacramento's first step toward erasing the perception of gridlock," says Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, an analyst at the Claremont Graduate School in Claremont, Calif. "If it turns out to be the last step, they won't have gained anything."

The budget is lean and, in the eyes of some, mean. It calls for a cut of 11 percent in state spending over this year. Though it increases funding for prisons and protects public-school spending, it reduces welfare grants and aid to the aged, blind, and disabled. Tuition fees for higher education would go up. The most controversial pillar is the transfer of $2.6 billion in property revenues from local governments – mostly counties, but also cities and special jurisdictions – to the public schools. The transfer was a key demand of Wilson, who wanted to keep a commitment to maintain per-pupil education funding at current levels.

To help offset the loss, the budget would extend a temporary state sales-tax surcharge for six months and give the revenue – about $700 million – to local government. In November, state voters would be asked to make the surcharge permanent, thus giving localities more revenue. But money could be used only for police, fire, and other public-safety services.

The plan puts local governments in the uncomfortable position of having to rely on the voters to approve a tax, something Californians have been reluctant to do. Even if they were to, counties would still likely take a sizable drop in funding – on top of a $525 million cut in state aid last year. In the meantime, they have to fashion budgets of their own not knowing if they will have the added sales-tax revenue this fall or not.

"It is a disaster for Los Angeles County," says Ed Edelman, chairman of the county Board of Supervisors.

In anticipation of the parsimony in Sacramento, 46 out of 58 counties had passed resolutions refusing to turn over locally collected property tax revenues if the state went ahead with the transfer of funds to the schools. Now some are following through.

Los Angeles County supervisors this week moved to eliminate cooperative programs with the state, such as the lifeguard services, and to withhold the disputed taxes – a move that will likely end up in court. In Los Angeles, the cuts could mean laying off 9,500 workers and closing one hospital, four jails, and eight sheriff's stations.

Though local governments could still end up with some relief in the last-minute details of the budget being worked out, most counties have already been preparing to make tough choices:

■ Northern California's Lassen County is planning to lay off one-third of its 90-member work force. That would leave, among other things, only eight sheriff's deputies to patrol an area the size of Connecticut.

■ Riverside County, east of Los Angeles, finished a $24 million, 535-inmate jail near Temecula last December. But local officials cannot come up with the $12 million it would take to run it. It sits empty.

■ San Benito County, on the edge of Silicon Valley, is scheduled to close its last library Sept. 1. "We are in a depression as great, if not greater, than the depression of the 1930s," says county administrative officer David Edge.

NIGERIA from page 1

rian oil, Nigeria would feel the pinch. But that kind of action might only hurt the average Nigerian, says Osita Ogbu, a private Nigerian economist.

"I'd rather see Nigerians take care of this themselves," he says.

Mr. Ogbu says civil disobedience is likely if General Babangida's promised change to civilian rule by Aug. 27 does not occur. Asked whether Nigerians might fear a military clampdown if people react publicly, Ogbu says: "People can not be intimidated."

Babangida is expected to address the nation in the next few days to explain why he annulled the vote. An Associated Press report yesterday said Babangida is considering turning over power to another military ruler who would share power with a civilian parliament elected last year.

Dueling businessmen

Results released earlier from 15 of Nigeria's 30 states indicated millionaire industrialist Moshood Abiola was well ahead of rival candidate Bashir Tofa, another wealthy businessman. But release of further results was blocked by the Abuja High Court on June 15 at the request of a group believed to be comprised of wealthy businessmen and military officers who want to prolong military rule.

Mr. Tofa claimed the elections were rigged, and called for fresh elections. Both men are friends of Babangida.

Initial reaction from the Nigerian public to cancellation of the elections was mild. There were no reports of riots or strikes.

But concern over the possibility of unrest persists. If there are violent protests, says a Nigerian engineer, Babangida "will suppress even the few freedoms we have, seizing newspapers, banning all the [country's professional] associations." The business groups have provided an outlet for criticism of the regime. "When you go to the streets, you create an opportunity for him [Babangida] to crack down," the engineer adds.

Nigerians predict some sort of civil disobedience will occur before long. "I bet some people are working underground" to plan such a move, says a Nigerian journalist. But it takes a lot to get Nigerians motivated to participate in such actions, he says: "We don't have a deep-seated culture of violent reaction."

Despite earlier postponements of a transition to civilian rule by Babandiga, who seized power in 1985, many Nigerians have clung to the hope of a peaceful handover of power in August. Now they are disillusioned.

"I believed him when he said he would hand over on Aug. 27," says Ogbu, the economist. "The election was a vote for national unity." He and other Nigerians contacted point out that the elections were the first in which a candidate garnered strong support across political, ethnic, and regional lines.

Babangida's delay amounts to "a carefully laid down plan not to hand over to civilians," says the journalist. Now, the military dictator is likely to leave power only "by coup or heavenly intervention," he adds.

A signal is sent

Babangida's decision to hang on to power, at least for now, also sends a signal to the rest of Africa, says one US State Department official. "We are concerned about the larger rippling effect in a number of countries, which have undertaken some fairly heroic measure in the last few years to get democratic institutions established," says Edward Brynn, acting assistant secretary of state for African affairs. Mali, Niger, and Benin are examples of countries that might be affected by Nigeria's example, he adds.

In all three countries, democratic leaders have been elected, but the military is still quite strong. In Togo, a military dictator has been pushing off promised elections for more than a year. In Uganda, a former military rebel leader who is now head of state has been in power since 1985 without presidential elections.

Each country in Africa has its own dynamics, culture, history, and ethnic makeup, says one US diplomat, so there may be no large ripple effect. But the Nigerian example "creates a kind of psychology [among both Africans and Westerners] that Africa can't make it [to democracy]," he adds.

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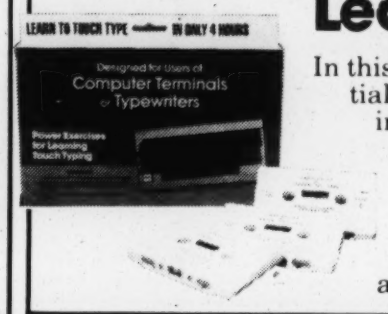
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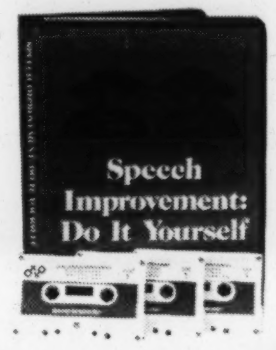

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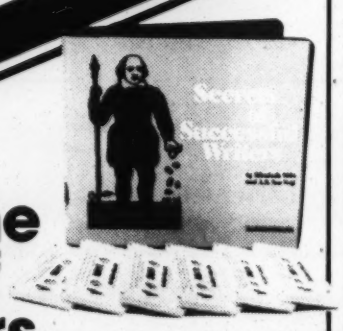

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BOSTON
The Flynn Years

Tuesday: Education
Thursday: Housing
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Police Force Felt the Mayor's Hand

Influence of Flynn is seen from the commissioner's office to local foot patrols

PHOTOS BY R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

ON DUTY: *Boston police guard the entrance to a Planned Parenthood clinic during an abortion protest. The department is praised for its efforts to improve neighborhood relations, but faces management difficulties.*

By Shelby Siems
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

MAYOR Raymond Flynn's fingerprints are all over the police force. Not from being arrested, mind you. But from having a great impact on the men and women in blue.

Perhaps more than any other city service, the embattled department feels his influence – from Commissioner Francis (Mickey) Roache, a boyhood pal who declared yesterday he would run for mayor, to its budget, which reflects the mayor's vision as well as departmental needs, to the neighborhood-policing plan, a result most recently of a report he commissioned. As Mr. Roache's term began, the mayor was accused of politicizing the force for assigning city employees to jobs at police headquarters.

"There's no question [Mr. Flynn] has an immense amount of influence in this police department that, in other cities, people would look at with their eyebrows raised," says Frank Hartman, executive director of the criminal-justice policy and management program at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government.

A racially explosive 1989 murder investigation and subsequent press criticism prompted probes of the police, including one from the mayor-appointed St. Clair Commission, led by President Nixon's Watergate attorney, James St. Clair. It released its report – recently ruled court admissible – to wide acclaim Jan. 14, 1992. Calling for 36 changes, almost all of which Roache accepted, it said the department "drifts from crisis to crisis," causing turf wars and low morale.

For his part, Roache welcomed the report. "I think we're a good, honest, solid department now. I have personal relationships with hundreds and hundreds of officers. I'm moving forward."

But Flynn didn't act on its main recommendation: ousting Roache. To appease critics, Roache rehired former Superintendent-in-Chief William Bratton, then-chief of the New York Transit Authority, to help manage the force.

"I didn't go to the school of criminology or the Harvard School of Business to find the best manager. I was looking for someone who was a healer, somebody who was honest, had enormous integrity, and worked hard," Flynn said in a Monitor interview. "[Roache] helped to shape a real positive image, reputation of Boston police officers."

Roache successfully fought police corrupton, eased racial tensions, and reduced crime, then at a six-year low, Flynn said publicly. Homocides had fallen 22.6 percent in 1991; rapes and attempted rapes, 11 percent.

Roache's strengths also lie in his character, relationship with neighborhoods, and success fighting drugs, not his supervision of an almost 2,000-member force, community leaders say.

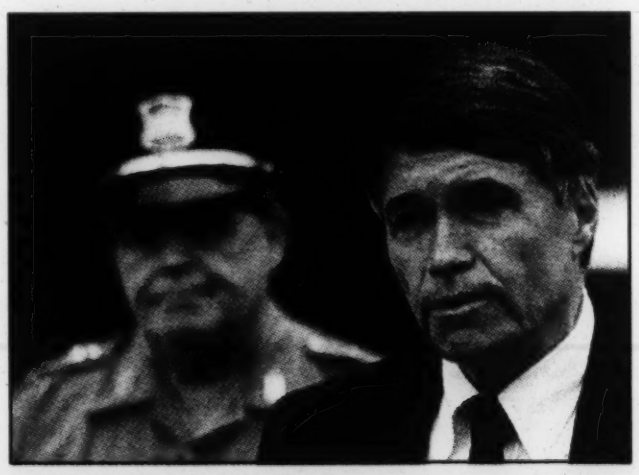
"He brought decency, commitment. But the question is management," says Samuel Tyler, executive director of the Boston Municipal Research Bureau. "His approach is hands-on personal management, rather than thinking about overall management incentives," Mr. Hartman adds.

As the St. Clair report advised, Roache created a Community Appeals Board to check the Internal Affairs Division, the department's means of policing itself. The division had come under fire by St. Clair. Roache also doubled the size of the division and replaced the legal advisers' office – which had lost some 60 percent of cases brought against errant officers.

Roache also adopted the report's call for neighborhood policing, a plan that had been in the works since 1985. It won't be fully operational until 300 patrolmen can be hired, Mr. Bratton says. In fact, no officers have joined up since 1991 because of the tight budget. The proposed 1984 budget, though, contains $2 million for 100 officers, and full computerization could free up more officers for patrols.

Attrition, meanwhile, results in more overtime and up to 96 fewer officers a year, the Boston Finance Commission reports. This is why some officers believe 500 more are needed.

As riots broke out in Los Angeles after the 1992 Rodney King trial, Boston remained peaceful. "Roache and Flynn knew to reach out to black community leaders to say: 'We'll work with you,' " says Jack McDevitt, associate director of Northeastern University's Center for Applied Social Research and St. Clair panel researcher.



FRANCIS (MICKEY) ROACHE: *The Boston police commissioner resigned yesterday to make a run in fall elections to replace his longtime friend, Raymond Flynn, as mayor.*

On an ominous note, however, a judge in May 1992 issued an injunction against 13 officers individually for either using excessive force or not *reporting* its use by others after they were found guilty of having done so during an incident four years earlier. Now under appeal, the injunction may be the nation's first, says Hubert Williams, Police Foundation president. "It's certainly going to be an interesting situation to watch," he says.

Last month, racial tensions led to a South Boston High School brawl some compared to incidents during school desegregation and busing in the mid-1970s.

The department has also taken flak for other areas, among them:

■ Deployment. The Boston Globe reported that in 1991 29 percent of regular patrols worked an area where 40 percent of violent crime occurred. City Councilor Charles Yancey calls this "unsafe."

■ Racial disparities. Statistics show that 55 percent of officers fired or suspended from January 1988-July 1991 were minorities, who make up 25 percent of the force.

■ Problem officers. Abuse claims rose in the 1980s while the number of claims deemed valid by the department fell, statistics show. Recently, 71 problem officers were identified.

■ No contract, raises. It has been three and four years, respectively, since the force had them. The proposed budget contains a 2 percent raise.

Nevertheless, Roache, like Flynn, is popular. Nearly half of those polled by KRC Communications in March like him; two-thirds call his performance average to excellent. Almost 90 percent know his name, ahead of others running for mayor. As Roache puts it: "I was there. I play on Sunday like the NFL. Everybody else plays Monday."

CHRONOLOGY

- In 1960s, an International Association of Chiefs of Police report calls for more motorized patrols, smaller force after CBS films Boston police involved in bookie operation.
- Recommendations are largely ignored until Mayor Kevin White in 1970s closes some substations, moves toward a 911, centralized approach. Police union gains clout, its relationship with management worsens.
- Relations between Mayor Raymond Flynn and former Police Commissioner Joseph Jordan are poor in 1984. The force suffers from excess overtime, a weak command structure, stalled promotions due to unresolved equal-opportunity issues.
- Mr. Flynn names Francis Roache police commissioner in early 1985.
- Carol Stuart murder in late 1989 gains widespread attention. Racial tensions are heightened, department faulted for its probe, in which innocent black man is targeted, witnesses allegedly threatened by police.
- St. Clair Commission report, calling for Mr. Roache's ouster, goes public in early 1992. City is quiet after Rodney King trial. Thirteen officers are permanently barred from using excessive force or failing to report its use.
- Flynn, Roache criticized for South Boston High School racial brawl last month; force has 23 fewer officers than in 1987, 112 more minorities.

– S. S.

NATIONAL

Groups on both sides of controversial issue are waging an intense campaign to sway the public and president, who is likely to adopt a compromise 'don't ask, don't tell' plan

Activists Make Last Pitch on Gay Ban

By Max Boot
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE commercial opens with scenes of soldiers in combat. Then the gay march on Washington flashes on the screen. An ominous voice-over intones: "President Clinton's plan to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military threatens our armed forces. The military cannot oppose a plan supported by their commander in chief – only Congress can, and you need to let Congress know how you feel."

At the end, there is a 900-number viewers can call, for $1.95 a minute, to add their names to a petition calling for keeping the ban on gay soldiers. So far, 50,000 people have dialed the number, which is sponsored by the conservative American Security Council in Washington. Another 200,000 people have responded to the group's $1.25 million direct-mail campaign.

Even as the armed services wait for Mr. Clinton's decision on how, and whether, to lift the ban on gays in the military, groups on both sides of the issue have been waging a public-relations campaign to influence the outcome. Despite the intense advocacy, neither side may be very happy with the president's decision.

As early as today, Defense Secretary Les Aspin reportedly will recommend to the president some form of a "don't ask, don't tell" policy under which homosexual soldiers would be allowed to serve as long as they don't "publicly" declare their sexual orientation. The details of the plan have not been announced yet, but already activists from both the right and left are lining up to snipe at the proposals.

"If it means that individual service members can't acknowledge that they're gay, that's not acceptable," says Thomas Stoddard, head of the Campaign for Military Service, a coalition of gay and civil-rights groups opposed to the ban.

"Aspin and company want a compromise. We want nothing short of don't lift the ban. Make it law. We believe the military has to ask the question [about recruits' orientation] up front," says retired Gen. Tony Bershnick, president of the Defense Readiness Council, a retired-officers group that wants to keep the ban.

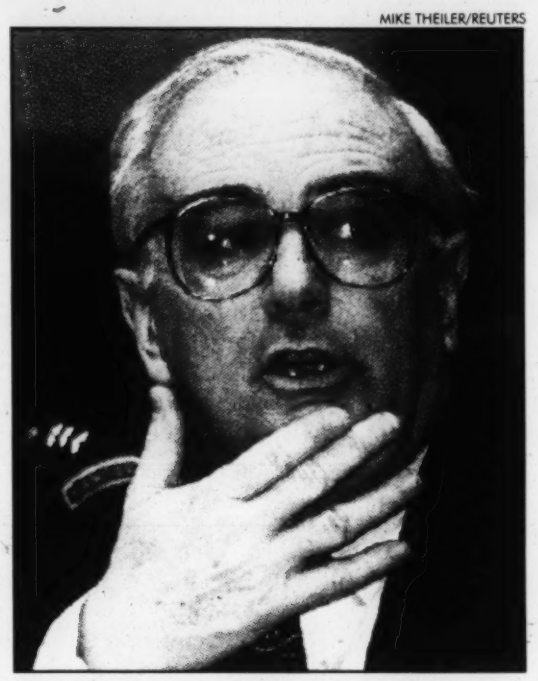
Even if they aren't overjoyed with the compromise, advocacy groups may be forced to accept a "don't ask, don't tell" plan. Congress, which could override an executive order, is about as likely to back the gay lobby's desire to lift the ban altogether as it is to vote itself a pay cut.

On the other side of the issue, 216 lawmakers in the House and 41 in the Senate oppose lifting the ban. But some may wind up backing Clinton's compromise, especially if it is endorsed by Sen. Sam Nunn (D) of Georgia, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

"If Powell says the solution is acceptable, we [in Congress] will do nothing," predicts Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D) of Colorado. "But if Powell says this is a crummy compromise, action will occur."

Still, ban supporters can claim victory if a "don't ask, don't tell" plan is adopted. In January, Clinton wanted to drop the gay ban entirely, but was deterred by a vociferous, and apparently spontaneous, public outcry. Since then, supporters of the ban have organized pressure groups to keep the heat on the administration and Congress.

MIKE THEILER/REUTERS



LES ASPIN: *Defense secretary will recommend policy under which gay soldiers could serve if they don't 'publicly' declare orientation.*

At the forefront of the conservative lobbying effort have been the American Security Council and the Defense Readiness Council, two groups in which retired Adm. Thomas Moorer, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, plays a key role. John Fisher, president of the Security Council, says his organization is spending $1 million to run three keep-the-ban commercials on 125 TV stations and 1,000 radio outlets nationwide. For its part, the Defense Readiness Council has organized studies, videotapes, and congressional visits by retired military officers to support the ban.

Christian Right groups also have been lobbying for the ban. The Christian Action Network, for example, is spending $30,000 to air a keep-the-ban commercial on three evangelical cable TV networks, according to Martin Mawyer, president of the Forest, Va.-based group.

Gay-rights groups recently have begun to adopt some of the tactics used by their opponents. On Memorial Day, the Campaign for Military Service aired two drop-the-ban television commercials on the Cable News Network. The group also delivered 100,000 postcards to Capitol Hill on Monday. Legislative coordinator Tom Sheridan says the campaign hopes to spend $1 million to $2 million on its efforts, although it has raised substantially less than that to date.

It may be too little, too late. "Lobbying by gays has increased recently, but it's not enough to offset the other side," says Rep. Barney Frank, a Massachusetts Democrat who is openly gay. "Some right-wing groups have done a better job of mobilizing their supporters than groups who are in favor of lifting the ban. It's harder than I thought to get [gays] to become lobbyists."

FLYNN SEES NO 'TURF ISSUE'

WASHINGTON

■ For Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn, winning Senate confirmation as ambassador to the Vatican is going to be easy. Whether the job will equal his high expectations still remains to be seen.

Mayor Flynn's well-publicized musings about his desire to turn his new post into a kind of super-ambassadorship, traveling the world to promote human rights, have won him few friends in the State Department in recent days. Yet his confirmation hearing June 22 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was brief and laudatory.

Panel Democrats lobbed softball questions and joked with Flynn about his basketball past. Republicans stayed away – reportedly in part because they think the peripatetic Flynn might well end up embarrassing the Clinton administration.

Flynn talked repeatedly at the hearing of his desire to elevate the post, to bring his philosophy of building bridges between disparate groups to social problems on a global scale.

"The president wants me to utilize fully the potential of the position," he said.

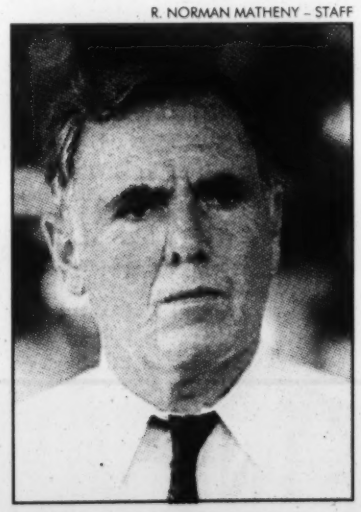
At the same time, he carefully noted that he would not be going anywhere without the concurrence of President Clinton, the secretary of state, and the United States ambassadors to whatever nations he might be passing through.

Lining up these approvals is not likely to be easy, especially considering the way Flynn has already trod on foreign service prerogatives.

Still, Mayor Flynn insisted he would wait to be called upon. "I don't see this as any kind of turf issue," he said.

– Peter Grier

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



MAYOR RAYMOND FLYNN

L.A. Snuffs Out Restaurant Smoking

LOS ANGELES

OPPONENTS of smoking welcomed news that the nation's second largest city, Los Angeles, has become the largest city in the United States to ban smoking in all city restaurants – nearly 7,000. But the battle may not be over yet.

The ban, approved by the City Council on Wednesday, must be signed either by present Mayor Tom Bradley, who says he is undecided, or Mayor-elect Richard Riordan, who has said he approves the measure. Introduced by City Councilman Marvin Braude, who had been pushing antismoking legislation for 15 years, the ban does not cover bars and outdoor dining areas. Smokers would get a $50 citation for a first offense, $100 for a second, and $250 for three or more. Restaurateurs who don't comply face up to six months in jail and a $1,000 fine.

Since the approval, local television stations have been peppered with pro and con comments from local residents and restaurateurs. Smoking patrons feel that if smoking is legal elsewhere, it should not be banned in restaurants, and restaurant owners fear a further diminution of business, which has already dwindled because of the recession and negative images of the city.

"You are going to close a lot of restaurants," said Councilman Nate Holden during the final hearing. "The smoker has rights the same as we do."

Those in favor of the ban point to recent findings that even secondary smoke – that inhaled by those adjacent to cigarette smokers – causes health problems. (Groups representing the tobacco industry dispute this finding, and filed a lawsuit on June 22 to end the designation of secondary smoke as a carcinogen.)

A bill backed by the tobacco industry currently in the state senate could override the city council action, however. That bill would allow restaurants with 50 or more seats to permit smoking in 30 percent of the establishment if the restaurants meet federal ventilation standards.

– Daniel B. Wood

Japan's Stock Market Rides Roller Coaster

By Clayton Jones
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

TOKYO

AFTER losing half its value in the past three years, the Tokyo Stock Exchange had no problem coping with this week's surprise split-up of the ruling party that guided Japan's postwar economic marvel.

Stock prices were due for a correction anyway, many analysts say, and last Friday's no-confidence vote against the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) provided the excuse for a curative dip on Monday that was the largest daily decline of the year.

The 225-issue Nikkei Stock Average fell 592.11 points to 19,212.43. But much of that loss was regained yesterday as investors welcomed the entry of a new pro-business, conservative political party under former Finance Minister Tsutomu Hata.

In fact, the market's prospects may brighten in the long term if that party, Shinseito (New Life Party), wins power and puts through income-tax cuts, market openings, and other changes that businesses and consumers favor.

"In the long term, this political turmoil is going to be good for Japan. Policies will basically be the same or even better," says Kathy Matsui, strategist at Barclays de Zoete Wedd Securities (Japan) Ltd. in Tokyo. Investor uncertainty may linger until the lower house election on July 18.

For now, after a roller-coaster year, the market appears in a drift with thin trading volume. On March 31, 1992, at the end of Japan's fiscal year, the Nikkei stood at 18,591.45, down 3.9 percent from a year earlier. But on Aug. 18 it went into a near free-fall and reached a low of 14,309.41, marking the deepest point of Japan's still-unfinished recession.

That plunge brought government-to-market resuscitation in the form of two giant economic stimulus packages, including the spending of trillions of public yen to boost stock prices and a virtual government guarantee to keep them high.

Without those steps, Japanese banks, which suffer from bad loans and rely heavily on stocks for assets, would have come up short in meeting the March 30 deadline for new, higher international standards for asset reserves.

SINCE then, as a few signs of economic recovery were sighted, the market went up again and almost broke the 21,000 barrier. "We had a run-up very quickly but it failed to break the barrier because the economy actually proved to be weak," says Geoffrey Barker, analyst at Barings Securities (Japan) Ltd. "The market stayed up due to a perverse confidence in public money. And investors were pleased that the market was up even while the yen was rising. It was a very odd, unnatural market. The political events broke that contradiction."

Not until private consumer spending rises from its low levels, signaled first by housing starts and mortgage applications, will the economic recovery be under way. "The key is what consumers will do. Savings are way up, despite inflation coming down. People are still cautious and are waiting to see stability in property prices," Mr. Barker says. "If you could encourage them to save a little less, you will see a recovery."

Economists are divided about whether the recession is over, or if the economy is just bumping along the bottom. "With both the economic and political situation still unclear, investors are looking at technicals and charts right now, and the feeling is that the lower limit on the Nikkei is 18,500," Barker says.

Infusions of public funds, estimated at about $9 billion alone this week, are a distortion of the market, but they have been there so long that they now are seen as a constant distortion, offering a floor to drastic drops.

Foreign investors reduced their interest in the market this spring. One reason may be that the price-to-earnings ratio, traditionally high in Japan due to the delayed profits of companies, has shot up during the recession. Hideaki Akimoto, chief strategist at Daiwa Institute of Research, says that corporate earnings for the previous fiscal year were off nearly 30 percent. A further drop is expected this year, making Tokyo stocks overvalued. Prices may be about 80 times earnings.

"These high ratios don't worry foreigners who look for a high earnings in a few years," Ms. Matsui says.

ECONOMY

Bundesbank in Dilemma As German Mark Declines

By Francine Kiefer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BONN

THE German deutsche mark, which hit a 20-month low against the dollar this week, is getting mixed reviews in Germany.

It has put a smile on the face of German exporters, who expect the downward trend to make their products more price-competitive. The prospect of higher earnings for exporters – the backbone of German industry – also has breathed new life into the German stock market.

This week the DAX, the index for the Frankfurt stock exchange, climbed up around the 1,700 barrier, a level crossed briefly in March.

But the Bundesbank, Germany's central bank, is not happy about the mark's decline. A staunch defender of the German currency, traditionally the anchor in Europe, the bank is concerned that foreign investors could abandon the mark.

The mark's downward trend puts the Bundesbank in a dilemma over its interest-rate policy.

The central bank gradually has been reducing its interest rates, a help to an economy in its worst recession since World War II. Although the bank took a pause from this course last month, economists were hoping for further interest-rate reductions on July 1 or July 15, the next scheduled meetings of the central bank council.

But the mark now has put the trend in interest rates in doubt. As the mark decreases in value, the price of imported goods for Germans rises, fueling inflation. This is the Bundesbank's No. 1 enemy. Its only tool to fight inflation – and prop up the mark – is high interest rates.

Klaus Friedrich, chief economist for Dresdner Bank in Frankfurt, says he hopes that the Bundesbank will not "chicken out" and abandon its step-by-step cut in interest rates. "I don't think they have reason to," he says.

Mr. Friedrich points out that the mark's decline has been "entirely predicted and desirable and so far not [done] in an excessive manner." He says the reason for the decline has more to do with the strength of the dollar, based on economic recovery in the United States and the expectation that US interest rates have hit bottom and can only go up.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

DEUTSCHE MARK: *A produce vendor in Leipzig, Germany, exchanges money with a customer. Some analysts say a weak mark is good for the economy.*

The fact that the mark is now hovering around 1.7 to the dollar "doesn't scare me at all," Friedrich says. He predicts that the mark will sink further to 1.8 by the end of the year, an exchange rate which he terms "good for the economy."

WHILE agreeing that the strengthening of the dollar goes a long way in explaining the mark's weakness, Peter Pietsch, economist at Commerzbank, says it is only half of the equation.

The other half is the German economy, he says, "which is still quite weak." Of course, he adds, "it's simple to find additional reasons" such as Bonn's deficit-heavy fiscal policy.

In an editorial Tuesday, the centrist newspaper Der Tagesspiegel of Berlin commented: "Among foreign investors, the impression is gaining the upper hand that the Bonn government no longer has any control of state finances."

According to forecasts by the German Finance Ministry, the federal deficit will reach a record DM 67.6 billion (US$42 billion) in 1993, compared with an original forecast of DM 43 billion. Finance Minister Theo Waigel is planning cuts of more than DM 20 billion to bridge the gap – cuts that include the sacred cow of social services.

The Bundesbank is pressing Bonn to be a more aggressive cost cutter, instead of choosing the easier route of tax-and-fee increases which it has so far followed. It used its June report, released this week, to point out how government borrowing had fueled money-supply growth – the main reason the Bundesbank was forced to cease its interest-rate cuts last month.

The weaker mark, however, is a welcome relief to Germany's neighbors, since it gives them more room to maneuver their interest rates. On Monday, for instance, the Bank of France cut its key short-term interest rates below German levels – without waiting for the Germans to move first.

The new situation led Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission, to comment that the European Community was no longer bound to "one single dominant currency."

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Stock 'Fundamentals' Make Investors Wary

By Guy Halverson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

CONCERNS about lower corporate earnings have rattled the United States stock market in recent days. Until now, the market has been setting new highs, with the Dow Jones industrial average hitting 3,554.83 points in late May. Many longtime market observers say that the market is overpriced and runs the risk of a downward "correction."

Based on such underlying market fundamentals as the ratio of the price of corporate stocks to the earnings of those companies, the level of dividends, and the market value of stocks compared with their book value, the market appears to be overvalued, says Joseph Tigue, managing editor of The Outlook, a monthly market review published by Standard & Poor's Corporation.

In 1982, the S&P 500, a stock market index based on 500 companies, traded at eight times earnings, 1.1 times book value, and yielded 6 percent, Mr. Tigue says. That compares with 23 times earnings, 2.6 times book value, and a yield under 3 percent today.

The yardstick most commonly used to measure the market is the price-earnings (P/E) ratio. It measures how much investors will pay for a dollar's-worth of a company's earnings. There are different ways of measuring P/E ratios. Based on trailing 12-month earnings – looking backward to a company's actual earnings – the S&P 500's P/E is now more than 23, near the 1991 postwar high. Another way of measuring the P/E ratio is to look at US corporations' earnings projections. Based on those earnings projections, the P/E is now at 19. Yet "in only three postwar years [1961, 1991, and 1992] has the P/E been above 20," Tigue says. The average P/E ratio for the S&P 500 from 1940 to 1992 was 13.

Two other yardsticks also suggest an overpriced market. The S&P 500 market-to-book-value ratio – a company's net worth on a per-share basis – is running above 2.5 percent, Tigue says. In the late 1970s the ratio was under 1.5 percent. It has inched upward since then, setting records in both 1991 and 1992 when the S&P 500 closed the year at 2.66 times book value.

The dividend yield continues to fall. A yield is a return on investment measured in percentages. A falling yield usually forecasts a market decline. Currently, the yield is running in the 2.8-percent range. Since 1926, it has fallen below this level only three times. In August 1987, just before the market crashed in October, the yield hit 2.64 percent; in January 1973 the yardstick fell to 2.65 percent before a major market correction; and it fell to 2.81 percent in December 1961 before another major correction. To put the yield into perspective: In October 1929, it stood at 2.88 percent before the market crash which was considered the beginning of the Great Depression.

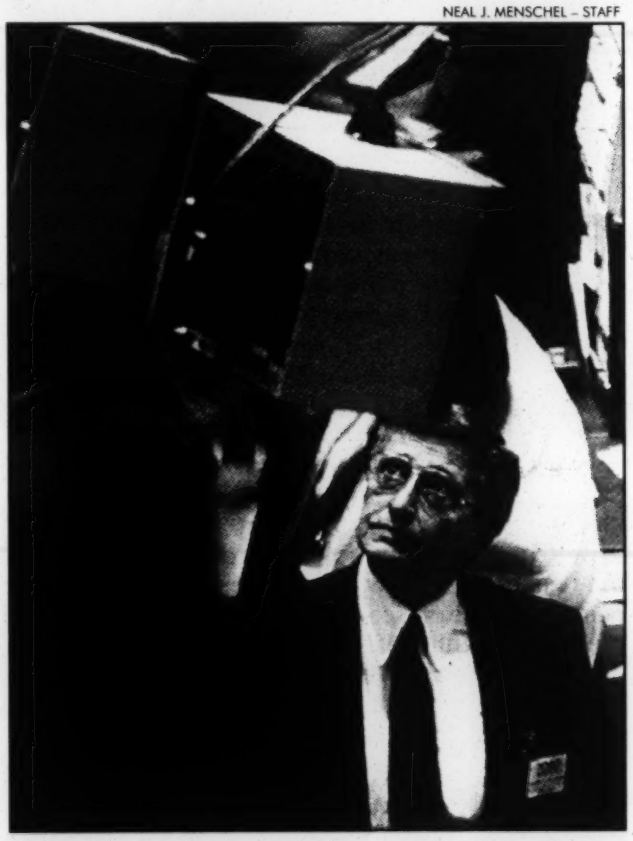
Despite such relatively gloomy assessments, Tigue says, the current economic environment has a number of plusses that make the market far less threatening than market yardsticks alone suggest. The economy continues to grow, albeit slowly. And interest rates remain low, which is good for stocks.

The high valuation levels are leading to a reappraisal of how much exposure investors should have in equities. Glenmede Trust Company in Philadelphia, which manages $7.6 billion in assets, is one of many management companies slowly cutting back on the equity portion of its investment portfolio because of concerns about the economy's future course, the Clinton administration's economic policies, and high valuation levels.

But since there are few lucrative alternatives to equities, "we're finding it difficult keeping equities at below 50 percent of our overall investment portfolio," says Nancy Smith, vice president and portfolio manager with Glenmede. The stock market will continue to rise this year with a modest correction possible, she says.

In a new outlook for stock-market performance, Salomon Brothers says that the market has a "slight downward bias," but it is not anticipating any major correction.

NEAL J. MENSCHEL – STAFF



NEW YORK: *A trader on the floor of the New York stock exchange. Some analysts say the market is overpriced and may encounter a "correction".*

Economies of Poor Nations Recover From 1980s Plight

MOST of the world's people enjoyed an improvement in their living standards last year. The same should be true this year.

That statement may raise eyebrows in industrial nations, troubled as they are by recession or slow growth. But some 80 percent of the 5.5 billion people on this globe live in developing countries, and most of them have been doing better economically.

"It used to be the reverse," says Christián Ossa, director of the Macroeconomic and Social Policy Analysis Division of the United Nations. He and some 14 other economists put together the UN's annual world economic survey. The 1993 version was released yesterday.

DAVID R. FRANCIS

"The world economy remains listless," the report begins. "World output has been growing well below potential since 1990. For the third year in succession, in 1993 the rate of growth of world output will be below that of world population."

That's true in the aggregate. But it reflects the fact that 74 percent of world output takes place in industrial nations, including those of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The latter countries are described in this UN document as "economies in transition" – presumably from communism to capitalism. Output in this group dropped 16.8 percent last year and will decline another 10 percent this year, according to the UN report.

Several years ago the UN economists would not have been allowed to be so honest in regard to the then-Soviet Union. A Soviet official "looked very closely at what was said about them" and insisted on the use of official statistics, Mr. Ossa recalls. Such statistics "sometimes came with a slant."

The section on these transitional economies now draws on multiple statistical and other sources and makes some blunt judgments of the situations.

Another change from years ago is that UN economists have abandoned a left-of-center position to join the economic mainstream. It was the UN Commission on Trade and Development under its first director, economist Raúl Prébisch, which promoted the theories of the new international economic order in the 1970s. These arguments for a kind of world welfare system, in which the rich countries would share their wealth with the poor countries, are not advocated in the 1993 economic survey. The report has appropriate sympathy for the economic plight of the world's poor. And it is a professional report.

The UN economists predict 3 percent real growth in the United States this year, 0.5 percent in the 12-nation European Community, and 1.5 percent in Japan. Output in France and Italy is forecast to slow. German output will drop 0.5 percent.

"On the other hand," the report notes, "the developing countries as a group are growing at a pace not seen since the 1970s." That's especially so in Asia with the world's most populous countries and in the southern cone of Latin America. More than half of the people in the developing world live in countries with real growth rates of 5 percent or more a year. China, with 1.1 billion people, experienced 12.8 percent growth last year and the UN report expects 11 percent this year.

Total output in developing countries increased in real terms by about 5 percent last year, compared with 3.4 percent in 1991, which was close to the average rate of growth in the 1980s. In 1992, the report notes, the population of countries where per capita output increased accounted for 80 percent of the total population of the developing countries. High growth was not limited to a few countries. In a sample of 100 countries, 30 grew at an annual rate of 5 percent or more in 1992.

However, the report warns against any complacency, pointing out that 500 million people live in developing countries where output stagnated or declined last year. Africa's expected 3 percent real growth this year will merely stem the fall in per capita output that has been under way for many years. The same level of growth in Latin America will make only "limited inroads" in reducing the extreme poverty 40 percent of the region's population now live in.

Statistics on the world economy "fail to convey the appalling increase in human suffering" in countries hit by drought, such as in Africa, or by civil strife, the report adds.

A favorable trend for developing countries has been an inflow of financial resources. During the 1980s, the debt crisis prompted a large outflow of funds from the poor to the rich countries. But now some middle-income countries have access to international credit. Net transfers to developing countries were $51.9 billion in 1992, up from $47.3 billion in 1991. Much of that flow was private investment, not foreign aid. Multilateral institutions such as the UN and the World Bank made loan commitments of $38.7 billion last year, down from $39.8 billion in 1991.

Latin American saw a "remarkable turnaround" from a $7.2 billion outflow in 1991 to a $6.9 billion inflow in 1992. That was the first positive net flow since the debt crisis began in 1982.

If anything, growth in the poor countries is helping the struggling economies of the rich nations.

SPORTS

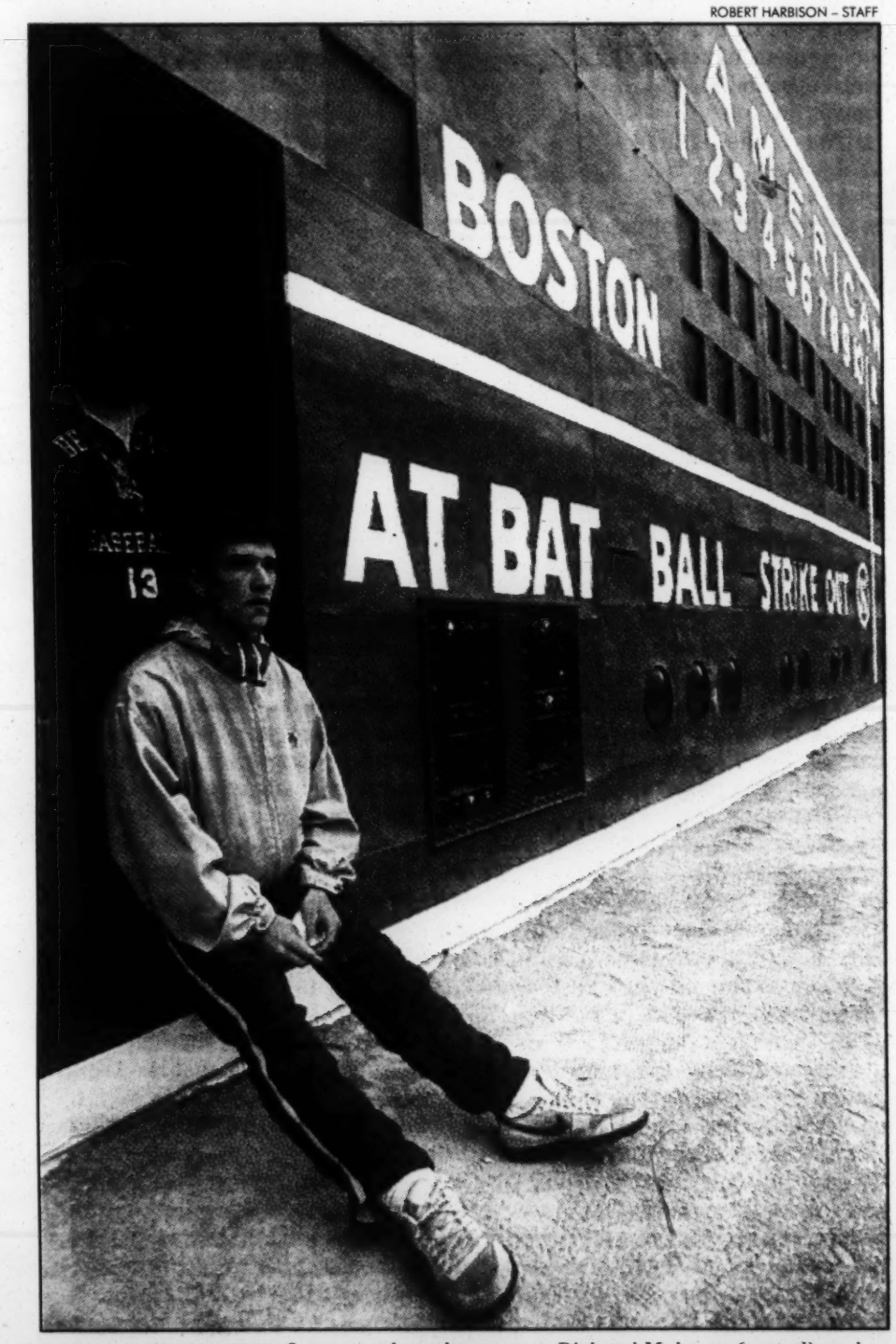
ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF

LIFE INSIDE THE GREEN MONSTER

Unseen behind a scoreboard at Boston's Fenway Park, two operators post the numbers – by hand

FENWAY PARK: *The Green Monster (a 37-foot-high wall in left field) has on*

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF



A RARE MOMENT OUTSIDE: *Once scoreboard operators Richard Maloney (seated) and Chris Elias enter the field-side door, they are supposed to stay inside till after the game. Above: Elias peers through a 1-by-9-inch slit to view the game.*

By Lisa Leigh Parney
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

IT sounds like a Red Sox fan's dream come true: better-than-front-row seats for every single home game.

Trouble is, the view is through a 1-by-9-inch slit.

That's the way Richard Maloney and Chris Elias see the games. They operate the manual scoreboard at Boston's Fenway Park, the one across the bottom of the Green Monster, Fenway's notorious 37-foot-high left-field wall.

"It's really a one-of-a-kind perspective," Elias says. A communications major at the University of New Hampshire, he's in his second year operating the board. "We can see everything and can even hear the outfielders positioning themselves."

He and Maloney keep track of runs, pitching changes, and scores of other league games, sliding 16-inch-high metal numbers through slots in the scoreboard wall. (The lights that indicate balls, strikes, and outs are operated from a control room behind home plate.)

The Green Monster, so named for its color and size, came into being because of the shape of the lot Fenway Park was built on in 1912. The distance to the left field fence is a relatively short 315 feet. To compensate, the monster was put in the way of any ball trying to get out of the park. Up until 1947, it was covered with advertisements.

The operators begin their workday two hours before game time. Upon arrival, Elias and Maloney check the newspaper to see who is pitching in other American League games so they can hang the pitchers' numbers on the scoreboard. The two usually have time to spare, so before a game against the Texas Rangers one day recently, Elias sat in front of the scoreboard to catch some rays. His time in the sun was cut short when the phone rang.

It was Jeff Goldenberg, the director of scoreboard operators at Fenway. The message: Get back inside.

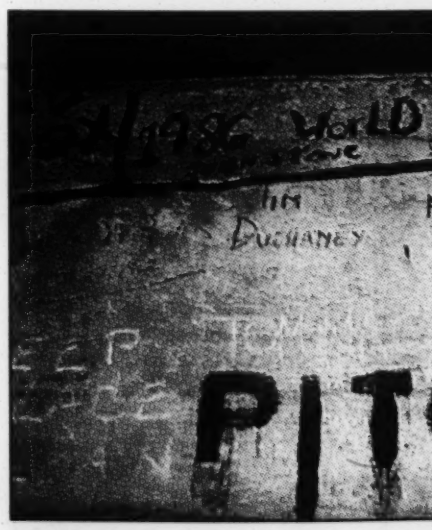
"They aren't that strict with us, but there are guidelines we have to follow," Elias says. "We can't walk on the grass; we can't sit outside; and we can't leave once this door shuts."

Even during rain delays, they have to wait it out inside.

The only access to the Monster is from the field, through a small door that blends in with the scoreboard. Inside, two steps lead down to a long hallway, coated with a layer of dust. Graffiti covers the cement walls. Hundreds of numbered metal plates hang on the walls, and some rest on the floor.

The graffiti include thousands of signatures by players, old and new, plus "Keep this place clean," "Clemens K-20 new record 4/42/86," and "AL East Champs, 9/28/8 ey's and Elias's names ar in at least five places.

"The walls are speakin berg says. "It's like a littl sule because there are so m that are in there. Certain type things happened and



GRAFFITI: *Generations of players have lef scoreboard – as have generations of sco*

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Surrounded by the his board and being within s game would thrill any b but after spending a coupl the scoreboard, "the nov wears on you," Maloney s

BILL GRANT – STAFF

has one of the two oldest manual scoreboards in the majors. The other is in Chicago's Wrigley Field.

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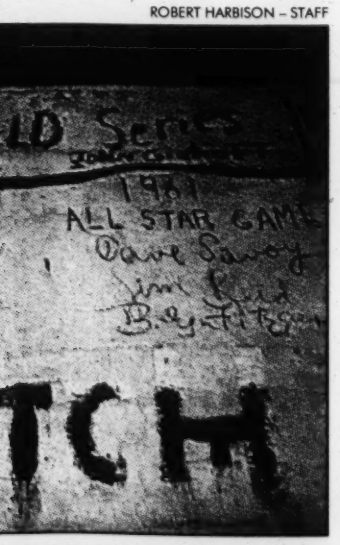
ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF



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oney says. "It gets depressing in here."

Maloney graduated from Boston College this year. "The team kind of dictates the job," he says. "If they are winning, it's a lot more fun. It's less exciting when they are losing." (The Sox are currently in fifth place.)

Elias says sitting in the Monster for three hours or more is difficult sometimes. "When it's a good day, it's hard to be in here because you want to sit out there in the sun and interact with the fans. It's a lot easier to be in here when it's a rainy day."

The temperature in the Monster is regulated by the weather outside.

"It really doesn't get hot in here, but if it has been hot outside for a few days, it will heat up in here because of the metal scoreboard," Maloney says. "There's no heater back here, so in the early and late months of the season, you really have to bundle up, because it gets so cold."

When boredom strikes, Elias and Maloney take turns watching the game. They may watch the game on television, read the newspaper, or answer the phone. Last year, the two had a baseball-throwing contest to liven up things, dangling a light bulb from a pipe and trying to hit it.

"This is a low-stress job," Elias says, and you need something to keep things exciting. "But there are times when it gets a little hectic in here, when there are other games going on. We have to keep up with the pitchers' numbers and the scores."

"One person can work this, but that's when you go out of your mind," Maloney says.

Mistakes are rare, but they do happen.

"Last year, I put up a zero in the ninth inning and it was only the eighth," Maloney says. "Every now and then you'll put up a wrong number, then Jeff [Goldenberg] will call down and let us know about it. We watch the electronic scoreboard most of the time so we know what's going on."

Despite the job's dull moments, Maloney said there are perks, too.

"It's great talking to the players because they don't see you as a pestering fan," Maloney says. "I know [Oakland Athletics pitcher] Ron Darling's brother, so we had something in common. It's great coming to Fenway."

But after the final pitch is thrown, Elias says, "We're all smiles when we get out."

Take Me Out to ... the Electronic Scoreboard With Its Flashing Lights

BOSTON

EVER since Chicago White Sox owner Bill Veeck's scoreboard literally exploded onto the scene in 1960, scoreboards have increasingly become a source of entertainment at a baseball game.

Today, it is computers – not fireworks – that provide the show.

"Computer technology has changed dramatically" in the past 15 years, says Gail Robertson, market manager at Daktronics, a Brookings, S.D., company that makes electronic scoreboards. "The heart of it is the computer horsepower and the software systems that drive the display scoreboards."

From awkward and slow computer systems, control rooms have gone to faster personal computers. Now the power of the software is the only limit to the scoreboard display.

Jeff Goldenberg, director of scoreboard operators at Fenway Park in Boston, says fans want to see what they see on television.

"People are so oriented to statistics," he says. On televised games, viewers see statistics and replays constantly.

"So when people come to the ballpark, people don't want to miss that. So we show all that."

Well, maybe not *all* that.

With the advent of higher technology, scoreboard operators must follow major-league baseball guidelines: No live action may be shown on the scoreboard's TV monitor while a player is in the batter's box; no swinging or called strikes or other controversial plays may be shown. That includes fights.

All that visual display is not low-powered or cheap.

The main scoreboard at Camden Yards in Baltimore, opened last year, is 24 feet high by 64 feet long and has 24,576 30-watt bulbs. At maximum power, it draws 6,144 amps – enough to power 300 average-size households.

The first-ever large-screen stadium television was installed at the Houston Astrodome in 1965. Cost: $2 million. It was the largest scoreboard in the world at the time, measuring 474 feet long and 40 feet high, with 50,000 light bulbs. It was renovated in 1988 and made smaller to accommodate 10,000 new seats.

Next year, the Cleveland Indians' new stadium will have the largest combination scoreboard, with an animation board, a statistics board, an auxiliary board, and an out-of-town scoreboard.

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF

AT BAT: *The electronic scoreboard at Boston's Fenway Park.*

The electronic board at Fenway Park, installed in 1976, is one of two in major-league baseball parks (Olympic Stadium in Montreal is the other) with a screen that uses U-shaped fluorescent tube technology, so it can be seen better in bright sunlight. The cost of a scoreboard today ranges from $5 million to $20 million. The 33-by-115-foot Sony Jumbotron in the Toronto Blue Jays' Skydome cost $17 million.

"Every professional team," says Robertson, "is coming to the realization that they are in competition for entertainment dollars.... They have discovered that in order to maintain fan interest, they have to provide entertainment and the pure sport."

– L. L. P.

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF

IN CONTROL: *Debbie Volpe runs Fenway Park's electronic scoreboard from a small room behind home plate. Behind her, John Tolman handles the replays on the board's giant TV.*

THEATER

'My Fair Lady' Still Adds Up to Wonderful

The musical comedy charms and amuses, but it also engages in class and gender warfare

CAROL ROSEGG/© MARTHA SWOPE ASSOCIATES

THE ROYAL ASCOT: *The upper classes whoop it up en route to the races in a song-and-dance number from the show.*

By Karen Campbell
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

MY FAIR LADY
Musical by Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe. At the Colonial Theatre through June 27.

"PYGMALION," George Bernard Shaw's 1913 story of a Cockney flower girl's transformation from guttersnipe to society princess, is one of the most memorable plays in the theatrical repertoire.

In 1956, lyricist Alan Jay Lerner and composer Frederick Loewe worked their own transformation on Shaw's play with the musical "My Fair Lady," heightening the comedy with a host of clever singable songs, such as "I've Grown Accustomed to Her Face" and "I Could Have Danced All Night." And with the help of stars Rex Harrison and Julie Andrews, the musical enjoyed a record-breaking run on Broadway.

The current revival (which will tour the West Coast and St. Louis after its Boston engagement) is deftly directed by Howard Davies. It stars Richard Chamberlain in the role of the snobbish Professor Henry Higgins and young Meg Tolin as the saucy Eliza Doolittle. It's a stunning, wonderfully entertaining production that plays up Shaw's social commentary on class and gender distinctions, making the story particularly appropriate and potent in these troubled times.

Songs such as "Why Can't A Woman Be More Like A Man?" seem more overtly sexist today than 35 years ago.

Richard Chamberlain is superb as Professor Higgins, replacing the priggish pomposity that Rex Harrison brought to the role with a self-satisfied, suavely cruel smugness. His "confirmed bachelorhood" is really a case of misogyny combined with an unreserved disdain for the lower classes. He is clever, smooth, emotionally callow, and downright obtuse in the ways of the heart, despite his intellectual brilliance.

And therein lies this production's most troubling and provocative twist. Chamberlain's characterization is so inherently unsympathetic that it is difficult to appreciate Eliza's passion for him. Even his mother, beautifully played by Dolores Sutton, finds him insufferable.

Chamberlain's Higgins softens too little too late to make Eliza's return to him at the play's end justifiable, though in this era of domestic strife, that little jab hits home particularly forcefully. (Even in the musical's original production, with a more sympathetic portrayal of Higgins, Lerner and Loewe's "happy" ending rankled Shaw; in his own play, Eliza's destiny was far more ambiguous.)

Meg Tolin, who took over the role from an injured Melissa Errico, is affecting as the rough-cut flower girl who, in the process of gaining social respectability, runs the risk of losing herself. She has a wonderful comic touch that ranges from subtlety to farce.

Tolin is hilarious in her first public appearance as the newly genteel Miss Doolittle, combining her recently acquired upper-class manners with her lower-class perspective on life. She is less convincing in the dramatic scenes. There is little clue as to her internal transformation, making her hurt and frustration at Higgins's insensitivity a bit abrupt in the second act. Tolin's singing voice is sweet and clear, though it could use more edge and spirit at times, such as in "Just You Wait."

Paxton Whitehead is totally delightful as Higgins's cohort Colonel Pickering. His comedic arsenal contains a fabulous array of facial expressions and subtly effective mannerisms.

Julian Holloway is lively and convincing as Eliza's father Alfred, and Robert Sella is ingenuous as young Freddie Hill, Eliza's ardent, slightly awkward would-be suitor.

The chorus is marvelous, with vibrant characterizations, strong voices and nimble feet, as adept at playing the stuffy souls of propriety as the drunken rabble-rousing crowd at the flower market's local watering hole. The "Loverly" quartet is a standout.

Donald Saddler's choreography is tightly structured and fluidly staged, from the elegant ambassador's ball to the commoners' crowd scene, which includes a rousing high-stepping number to "I'm Getting Married in the Morning."

Ralph Koltai's scenic design is spare and effective, often setting the scene with a single prop, such as a porch stoop or a car. Rather incongruously, Higgins's study is a surrealistic display dominated by an enormous stone head, the brain divided by criss-crossed neon lines, and a recording machine that looks straight out of an old horror film. Though it doesn't especially fit, it's a fascinating conceit.

Bitterman's 'Ten Below' Explores Compassion and Need

By Ward Morehouse III
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

TEN BELOW
Play by Shem Bitterman. Directed by Stephen Zuckerman. Setting by Edward Gianfrancesco. Lighting by Richard Winkler. Costumes by Mimi Maxmen. At the WPA Theatre through June 27.

SHEM BITTERMAN'S "Ten Below" depicts man's humanity to man in dire circumstances.

Kevin Conway, one of America's finest stage actors (best known for his starring roles in Broadway's "The Elephant Man" and "Of Mice and Men" and the Off-Broadway hit, "Other People's Money"), plays a homeless man who finds a temporary home and some of his own hidden humanity in this thoughtful and sometimes lyrical memory play.

Conway's character, "the Kid," is haunted by a life of despair and self-loathing. When he is plucked off the sub-zero New York City streets by reclusive Good Samaritan Homer Beacon, he can't understand why anyone would want to help him.

"Your life has value," Homer tells Kid as he warms himself next to the heat of a single burner on an old stove in Homer's dilapidated room.

"Does it?" Kid angrily replies. "Why don't you tell me what value my life has? What gives you the right to pick a man off the sidewalk? Who gave it to you?"

Homer then tells Kid, who is, in fact, an older man, that as a boy he used to take care of wounded animals in a clearing in the woods near his home.

As the play proceeds, we see that Homer needs almost as much help as Kid. He has little self-worth and no personal aspirations. Kid helps him to understand that his life has value, too.

This dark and emotionally powerful play has surprising flashes of humor. Judging by his earlier work and this play's powerful and poetic monologues, Shem Bitterman appears to be a playwright of some promise.

"You dragged me all those blocks and brought me up here. You don't got to say, 'I'm sorry.' Stop saying, 'I'm sorry,"' Kid admonishes.

This dark and emotionally powerful play also has surprising flashes of humor. Judging by his earlier work and this play's poetic monologues, Bitterman appears to be a playwright of some promise.

Anthony Edwards makes an impressive Off-Broadway debut, playing Homer with simple eloquence. Edwards is better known for his film ("Top Gun," "Mr. North," and "Revenge of the Nerds") and television ("Northern Exposure") roles.

Edward Gianfrancesco's highly-realistic set includes a room with plasterboard that's almost completely fallen off the walls – symbolic of the play's focus on exposing people's inner lives.

Stephen Zuckerman's agile direction nicely balances the play's light and dark moments. He seems to have restrained Conway's magnificent voice to underscore the play's poignant subtext – that two outcasts have found, however fleetingly, something of the meaning of home by helping each other.

In "Ten Below," man's compassionate nature emerges as anger and fear subside. It is heartening to witness a playwright and actors challeng traditional stereotypes (in this case, those regarding the homeless) in creating a work that points toward a human capacity for empathy.

BOOKS

The Man Behind Spenser

Writer Robert Parker has much in common with his fictional sleuth

By Max Boot
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

ROBERT PARKER bangs out mystery novels starring his famous detective, Spenser, at the rate of five pages a day. Since he quit his job in the early 1970s as a tenured English professor at Northeastern University in Boston, he has churned out 20 highly successful Spenser thrillers, with the latest, "Paper Doll," released just this month **(see review, right)**.

Mr. Parker professes not to care what critics or literary scholars think of his efforts. He knows he will never be classed with "serious" novelists – he says the word in a mocking tone – because "it's unlikely that anybody who's published 20 or 30 books can be taken seriously by academics."

But he is willing to laugh at critics all the way to the bank. "I think I'm creating art," Parker says matter-of-factly, slumping down in a chair, his feet propped up, in a Monitor conference room. "I think I write very well. The fact that I do it efficiently shouldn't detract from the judgment that I'm good."

But although Parker says he is satisfied with the reputation he has gained as a top-rate mystery novelist, he has decided to conquer new worlds. Before he starts his 21st Spenser book, Parker aims to finish an ambitious novel tracing the lives of three generations of Irish-American cops in Boston.

His working title is, "All Our Yesterdays." When he mentions that, the former professor – who loves to reel off literary quotations as much as his fictional hero does – adds an aside: "It's from MacBeth. I know you knew that but I wanted to make sure you knew that I knew."

Normally, this workmanlike scribe – who compares his craft to carpentry – is contemptuous of writers who make a Broadway production of their creative process. But "All Our Yesterdays" has proved harder to knock out than a typical Spenser novel.

The words come more slowly, because he has moved away from his sure-fire mystery formula. He has had to pay closer attention than usual to what he's writing, he says, because he's juggling the stories of three generations.

Parker even had to visit Dublin to do research for the novel; normally research is superfluous, he explains, because he writes about Boston and other locales he knows well.

After struggling for several years on "All Our Yesterdays," Parker says, "I told my wife, Joan, that this is what I hear [about] other novelists going through."

Nevertheless, Parker says he is glad he has undertaken the task, not only because he hopes it will make him "rich" but also because it will "make me a better writer."

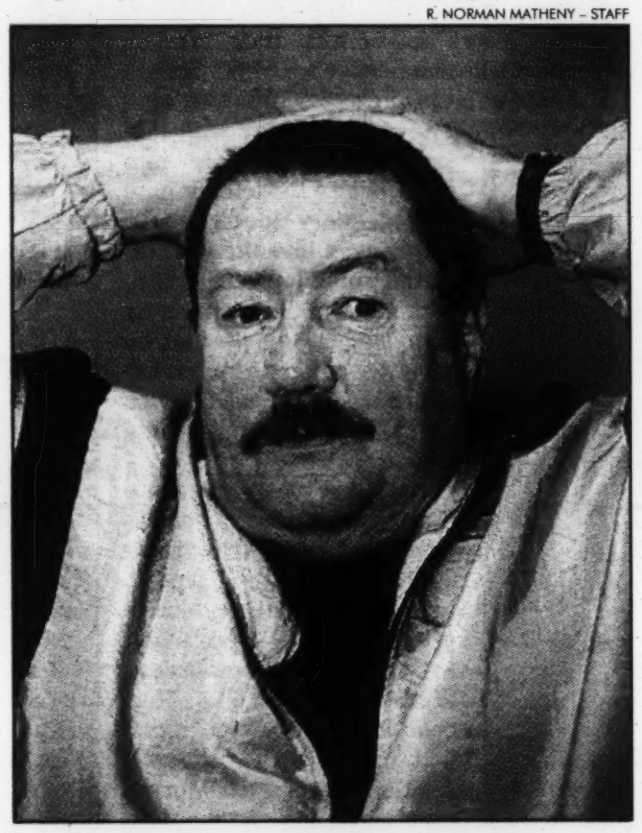
"If you hit .350, you want to hit .380," this baseball aficionado says. "Being a writer is like being an athlete. You ask yourself: Can I do that?"

For now, Parker has put aside "All Our Yesterdays" to concentrate on the task at hand: selling "Paper Doll." Wearing a dark track suit, tennis shoes, and no socks, he spoke with the Monitor just before embarking on a grueling cross-country tour of bookstores and chat shows.

Naturally, the talk turns to Parker's prize creation, Spenser, the private eye who beats up villains yet still manages to cook gourmet meals.

Parker, who wrote part of his dissertation on Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler, says the character began as "Son of Phil" – a carbon-copy of Chandler's famous private investigator, Philip Marlowe.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



'It's unlikely that anybody who's published 20 or 30 books can be taken seriously by academics.... I think I'm creating art. I think I write very well. The fact that I do it efficiently shouldn't detract from the judgment that I'm good.'

– Robert Parker

"If someone had said this character sounds like Chandler, I would have been flattered," Parker adds. "But as time went by, I went in a different direction, through no design of my own."

The direction that Spenser took bears a suspicious resemblance to Parker's own life.

Both are Korean War veterans, both have pets named Pearl the Wonder Dog, both are engaged in long-term romances (Spenser with girlfriend Susan Silverman, Parker with his wife, Joan), both enjoy cooking and exercising.

And both are experiencing the challenges of aging. Parker, who is 60, says he no longer runs much and doesn't lift heavy weights anymore. He also complains about a growing spare tire around the middle. While Spenser remains more active and never seems to gain weight, the fictional detective may run into chronological problems of his own.

Parker started off making Spenser the same age as he was. And unlike Chandler's novels, Parker's books have Spenser encountering contemporary problems – ranging from Vietnam War protests in his first book, "The Godwulf Manuscript," to AIDS in his latest.

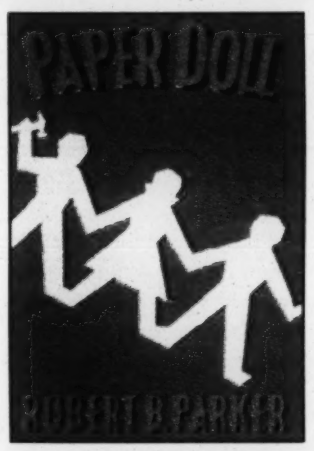
As the decade progresses, Spenser may have to retire from the gumshoe game or experience a miraculous rejuvenation. Neither option appeals to Parker.

"I don't have any idea of how to deal with that," the author says. "You can't have a hero of action novels who's 65 or 70 years old. So I just don't mention his age."

NEW WHODUNITS FROM SOME OLD PROS

Sometimes it seems that everybody and his plumber is writing a mystery novel. These budding Dashiell Hammetts and Agatha Christies churn out a steady slew of books, and while a few of them are gems, most are pure dross. Writing a good mystery, it turns out, is harder than it looks. That's why it's so refreshing to read books written not by eager newcomers, but by masters of the game.

PAPER DOLL, *by Robert B. Parker (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 223 pp., $19.95).* This is Robert Parker's 20th Spenser novel and, though not one of the best in the series, it is engaging nevertheless. In this tale, private-eye Spenser is hired to track down the killer of Olivia Nelson, a Boston Brahmin who, he soon discovers, was not all she seemed to be. Spenser's investigation takes him out of his usual Boston haunts to a small town in South Carolina (a fictional version of Aiken) where the answer to the riddle of Olivia's past is.

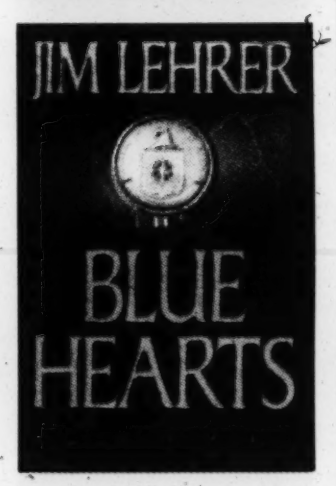


Along the way, Spenser gets help not only from the usual cast of characters – such as his girlfriend Susan Silverman – but also from a newcomer, detective Lee Farrell. The most interesting passages in this book, as usual, are devoted to the clothes Spenser wears and the meals he cooks. Even if you don't know what fiddle-head ferns are, you'll probably appreciate this laconically written and well-plotted adventure.

DON'T ASK, *by Donald E. Westlake (The Mysterious Press, 327 pp., $18.95).* "Don't Ask" shows another veteran writer in fine form. The novel features Donald Westlake's usual band of bungling burglars. This time out, they're hired to steal a bone – an ancient saint's relic, actually – that will determine who gets the United Nations General Assembly seat held by a central European state that no longer exists.

As in Westlake's other novels, the burglars at first succeed in getting the loot with an elaborately planned heist. But owing to a last-minute mishap, both the bone and the ring-leader, John Dortmunder, are captured. From there it's a nonstop, breathless chase to the end as the two sides try to steal and resteal the bone from each other. Not only is this funny stuff, it's also a wry commentary on world events today.

'J' IS FOR JUDGMENT, *by Sue Grafton (Henry Holt and Co., 288 pp., $21.95).* Sue Grafton's latest thriller is a below-par performance. But even below-par Sue Grafton isn't bad. In " 'J' is for Judgment," gumshoe Kinsey Millhone is hired by an insurance company to locate Wendell Jaffe, a businessman who had disappeared after a real-estate deal gone sour. As she pursues Jaffe from Mexico to California, the orphaned Kinsey has a bittersweet meeting with her long-lost relatives. A little bit of this goes a long way.



BLUE HEARTS, *by Jim Lehrer (Random House, 214 pp., $20).* TV newsman Jim Lehrer's current novel is almost a two-character play starring Charles Avenue Henderson, a retired CIA spook who runs a bed-and-breakfast in West Virginia, and Bruce Conn Clark, a former secretary of state who remains a powerful figure in Washington. Before long, Clark is trying to assassinate Henderson – a mystery that provides a sturdy plot on which to hang the author's nice observations of life among Washington movers-and-shakers.

For example, there's a delicious moment when Clark goes to a dinner party and encounters Jonathan Perry, "a lightweight sociology professor of no special talent or accomplishment who owned and edited the magazine The New World because his wife was a shoe-company heiress who bought it for him." Hmmmmm, that wouldn't be Martin Peretz, publisher of The New Republic, would it?

– M. B.

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Alan Bunce

■ SATURDAY

Pavarotti in Central Park *(PBS, 8 p.m. to about 10:15 p.m., E.T.)*: Anyone who's seen a Pavarotti concert on TV knows that his magic definitely works on that medium, and a *live* Pavarotti concert like this one practically justifies the medium all by itself. The way the great operatic tenor embraces a crowd seems to extend to viewers at home, and this occasion – his first solo performance in New York's Central Park – should be a prime example. So what if the voice *isn't* quite what it used to be? The big crowd will still provide the explosive enthusiasm familiar to viewers of previous Pavarotti TV concerts.

The program includes his time-tested repertoire, with plenty of Verdi and the traditional Italian songs whose mere titles bring roars of anticipatory delight from audiences. Members of the New York Philharmonic will be under the direction of Leone Magiera, who often works with Pavarotti in Europe. On the same bill is the Harlem Boys Choir and also the brilliant young Italian flautist Andrea Grimminelli, who frequently appears with the tenor on tour. (The taped concert will be aired internationally on Sunday.)

■ SUNDAY

Havana *(NBC, 8-11 p.m.)*: Network debut of the 1990 Robert Redford vehicle set in Cuba during the 1950s near the end of Batista's rule. A card shark (Reford) comes to Havana for a big game and gets involved with a woman, as the corruption and violence of those times seethes around them. Alan Arkin, Lena Olin, and Raul Julia are also in the cast, and the director is Sidney Pollack, Oscar-winner for the 1985 film "Out of Africa."

Curaçao *(Showtime, 9-10:23 p.m.)*: Another vehicle, this one for George C. Scott, in a movie made for Showtime. He stars as a vaguely Joseph-Conradish sea captain who is now a recluse and runs a bar on the Caribbean island of Curaçao, where he loves to regale patrons with lurid tales of his past. His *true* past he'd rather not expose, but events threaten to do this as a murder mystery develops. William Petersen plays a security officer at the American consulate.

Please check local listings for all programs.

FILM

'Last Action Hero' Overkill

Not even the muscleman can save this loud and badly written movie

By David Sterritt
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

"LAST Action Hero," the new Arnold Schwarzenegger movie, is such a megaproduction that even the rumors about it are grabbing major press coverage.

Is it true the budget mushroomed to nearly $120 million, a walloping amount even by big-studio standards? Was the picture really completed long after its target date, in a race to the wire for its première last week? Did an alarming number of spectators really turn their thumbs down and their noses up when a rough-cut version was test-marketed last month – suggesting that legendary bombs like "Howard the Duck" and "Hudson Hawk" may have new company soon?

Whatever the answers may be, Columbia Pictures has a lot riding on Mr. Schwarzenegger's supercharged project, which certainly cost a bundle even if it hasn't set an all-time record. Like many a production outfit, Columbia has been in this position before. In 1977, for instance, its survival hinged on the success of "The Deep" and "Close Encounters of the Third Kind," both of which turned into instant hits and propelled the studio into a new era.

Will history repeat itself? The answer is "yes," if Schwarzenegger's track record is the deciding factor. His movies have reportedly grossed more than $1 billion during the past decade, capped by the big-buck success of "Terminator 2: Judgment Day" two years ago. The answer is "no," however, if the actual quality of "Last Action Hero" has anything to do with it.

True, movies I don't enjoy often turn into box-office bonanzas, which is one reason I'm a critic instead of a studio boss. But those movies usually have something that I can identify as a marketable commodity – a thought-provoking plot, a lovable star performance, an ability to stir up powerful feelings.

By contrast, "Last Action Hero" has a gimmicky plot and a monotonous star performance. As for feelings, the strongest emotion it whips up is an overwhelming desire to stop your ears against the stupid dialogue, bombastic sound effects, and atrocious music that assaults you every second – courtesy of Dynamic Digital Sound, a diabolical new development in technological overkill. Surely no good movie would feel the need to be so loud.

In fact, everything about "Last Action Hero" seems overdone, beginning with the fact that it serves up Schwarzenegger in a dual role: as Jack Slater, an action-movie star, and as himself playing that character in real life.

The story begins when Slater's biggest fan, a preteen boy named Danny, gets hold of a magical "ticket" that transports him into the latest Slater picture. He and Slater battle various villains, winning every fight and conquering every obstacle because, hey, it's only a movie.

ZADE ROSENTHAL/COLUMBIA PICTURES

ARNOLD AND PAL: *Schwarzenegger plays an actor and Austin O'Brien is his admirer and sidekick.*

Then the two heroes find themselves together in the real world, where good guys can lose, gunshots can kill, and fistfights really hurt. The movie makes a stab at poignancy here, but that has never been Schwarzenegger's strong point. There's also some foolishness about Slater and Schwarzenegger meeting up with each other.

During the first few scenes, I thought "Last Action Hero" might poke enough fun at its own genre to succeed as a self-mocking satire. There's a hilarious vignette with Joan Plowright as a schoolteacher trying to convince her pupils that "Hamlet" was an action picture and Laurence Olivier was a super-cool star; and Schwarzenegger does an amusing bit as Jack Slater on the loose in a Shakespearean world, blasting through Elizabethan intrigues with Hollywood-style weapons.

But the cleverness quickly palls, and the movie's promising signs turn out to be highly misleading. Most of the parody is aimed not at lofty icons like Shakespeare and Olivier, but at easy pop-culture targets like Schwarzenegger's own image, which is close to self-parody anyway. The reflexive play with illusion and reality sinks into nonsense so far-fetched that the legendary Houdini has to be dragged into the story to give it some logic. The film-within-a-film is apparently supposed to be a *bad* movie – yet we're forced to watch enormous amounts of it, as part of the movie *we* came to see.

And don't be gulled into "Last Action Hero" by its excellent cast. Schwarzenegger is all over the screen, but Ms. Plowright disappears after one scene – and Art Carney, Anthony Quinn, Robert Prosky, and Mercedes Ruehl don't do much better. Only the talented Charles Dance and F. Murray Abraham, both playing conspicuously nasty characters, stick around long enough to make an impression. Cameos by everyone from Maria Schriver to Little Richard also don't help much.

The film's violence puts the carnivorous "Jurassic Park" to shame. If this summer's movie fare does nothing else, it should spark a vigorous debate over the PG-13 rating, and how ineffective the guidelines are in shielding young spectators from mayhem-filled epics like these.

Action specialist John McTiernan directed the picture from a screenplay by Shane Black and David Arnott, with Schwarzenegger as executive producer. Dean Semler did the gaudy cinematography and Michael Kamen composed the aggressive music.

■ *"Last Action Hero" has a PG-13 rating. It contains vulgar language and a large amount of extravagantly filmed violence.*

FREEZE FRAMES

A weekly update of film releases

By David Sterritt

■ DENNIS THE MENACE The relentlessly cute mischief-maker strikes again. As usual, the main object of his tricks is old Mr. Wilson down the street, but John Hughes's screenplay also throws in a menacing robber who proves no match for our hero. The last portion is yet another reprise of Hughes's endlessly recyclable "Home Alone," with the young protagonist fighting a comic-scary villain in scenes of cartoonish violence that ultimately get too nasty for comfort. The comedy's only inspiration comes from Walter Matthau, a rubber-faced marvel as Dennis's long-suffering neighbor, and Joan Plowright as Wilson's sweet-tempered wife. By contrast, Christopher Lloyd is both unpleasant and unsightly as the bad guy. Nick Castle directed. *(Rated PG)*

■ A TIME TO LOVE AND A TIME TO DIE – Revival of Douglas Sirk's great melodrama about the World War II era, centering on a German soldier who has lost all faith in his country and its cause but has no choice about returning to battle after meeting and marrying an innocent young woman. John Gavin and Lilo Pulver play the hero and heroine, backed up by Hollywood character types like Don DeFore and Keenan Wynn; their work is flimsy most of the time, but Sirk uses them less as realistic performers than as props to illustrate his meditations on the banality of evil and the elusiveness of joy in human experience. Also in the cast is Erich Maria Remarque, author of the original novel, as a professor who explains why adversity has strengthened rather than weakened his religious faith. First released in 1958, this lavish production doesn't match the brilliance of Sirk's greatest masterpieces, such as "Imitation of Life" and "All That Heaven Allows," but it remains very powerful with its dark-toned atmosphere and bold visual style. *(Not rated)*

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The Home Forum.

The Courage to Meet Eddie

LIFE, like good theater, is full of surprises and unexpected twists in the plot. How satisfying it is when we can surprise ourselves, break through stereotypes, and move beyond fear to embrace more compassionate points of view. I experienced this on a recent trip to Los Angeles.

I drove into the city at sunset, into the older part of downtown where turn-of-the-century office buildings barely hold their own against the rising tide of urban decay. As the sun gilded skyscrapers, broken neon signs flickered in the windows of delicatessens and novelty shops on Spring Street. Old newspapers blew up and down the sidewalks, fluttering like wounded birds in debris-laden corners. Winos and addicts slumped against buildings or lay down on the sidewalk to catch a few moments of merciful sleep. Drugs were being sold on the street corners. Disoriented men and women wandered listlessly about, some of them shouting, some of them just staring blankly ahead.

An old woman pushed a broken-down supermarket cart filled with faded clothes and torn shopping bags. A tired-looking man held up a sign scrawled on cardboard: "Will work for food."

Shiny BMW's and Mercedes whispered through the darkening streets, bearing tired executives home to well-watered gardens.

I was early, and the parking lot next to the theater was still almost empty. A bored-looking attendant stood by the gate to keep the homeless and the drunks from accosting the arriving theatergoers. A restless, warm wind tossed newspapers in front of my car.

An angry-looking man in a black coat three sizes too large for him shuffled by, trying to get the attention of anyone who might listen to his litany of complaints about the government.

I felt uncomfortable and looked forward to getting inside the pristine marble foyer of the theater, and then into the performance itself. There, for a few hours, we the audience would suspend our disbelief and enter into an imaginary world where we would laugh and cry and be entertained. For a few hours, we would forget our own problems and the problems of the world, which in this immediate area appeared to be a vivid reality of suffering that pressed upon one at every turn.

I drove to the back of the lot and parked, dreading the walk to the theater entrance, haunted by questions. Should I hand out dollar bills to those in need? Should I stop and try to talk if someone seemed rational? Should I carry a supply of Salvation Army meal tickets for occasions like this?

I gathered my courage and got out of the car. As I locked the door, I heard a voice calling to me. "Hey, can you spare some change?" I froze with dread and looked up. On the other side of the 10-foot chain-link fence I saw a man. His hands gripped the wire. His head was shrouded in the navy-blue hood of a stained, torn jacket.

Suddenly I was painfully aware of my glistening car and colorful clothes. I felt frightened and awkward, even with the fence separating us. Was I in danger? Did he have a gun? Was he going to shout at me, ask questions I could not answer, make me feel guilty for having so much when there are so many who have so little?

I saw in my mind's eye a sunset scene from the airport in Jakarta, where the plane I was on had stopped to refuel. There was a similar fence, but against that fence hundreds of people crowded, looking hostile, saying with their eyes and in a language I could not understand, "You are the enemy. We do not want you here. Go home."

Even with the fence as a barrier between us, I could feel the hatred, and I felt helpless to do anything about it except send back thoughts of peace, respect, and compassion.

Now I had a choice. I could turn and walk away. I could move closer, perhaps say a kind word. The man called again, "Hey, Beam!" I was startled for a moment, but then I realized that he could see my license plate, "BEAM 1." "Hey, Beam, I need to eat. Can you help me out?"

A force larger than my intellect or my sense of danger drew me toward the fence. I was painfully aware that the total cost of what I was wearing could feed this man for several months. I kept my eyes on the ground. I seemed to be moving slowly, as if in a dream, wanting to help but not knowing how, my feet feeling heavy yet moving ahead anyway.

I reached the fence and looked up. I looked first at the stained hands holding onto the fence, then I looked into the eyes. They were kind, even friendly. The man smiled a shy smile.

"What's your name?" I asked. My feet felt lighter. My fear hung in the air between us. In my imagination, I watched it evaporate, like a cloud of steam.

"Eddie," he replied.

I handed him a $10 bill. "Get yourself a good dinner, Eddie."

"Thanks, Beam. I really appreciate this."

I felt tears trembling behind my eyelids, and I turned to walk away.

"You be good, Eddie," I said over my shoulder.

In two minutes, I was in the crowded theater lobby, threading my way through well-dressed theatergoers. I was detached, remembering Eddie's kind eyes, his hands holding the fence, his playful smile. I realized, with some sadness, that it was quite possible I'd just given an addict the money for his next hit of crack or worse, and I did not feel very good about this. The play began, and for three hours I disappeared into a mythic world of illusion, transformation, and redemption. The basic message: Within every dragon is a princess, and within every inferno there is a paradise, if we know what to look for and if we have the eyes and the heart to see.

I found myself thinking kind thoughts about Eddie, sending him kindness in the night, knowing all was well with him. As I left the theater, there was a gathering of rumpled, untidy street people at the theater entrance. Some people stopped to visit with them, give them a few dollars. Others walked by, lost in their own worlds. By the time I got to the parking lot, many of the cars had left, and the attendant was no longer there.

As I walked to the back of the lot to get my car, I noticed a man, leaning against the fence, right where Eddie had been, and my heart froze.

I stopped. The man called out: "Hey, Beam, come here a minute."

I felt as though I had no choice. My humanity, compassion, or maybe just sheer craziness would not let me turn away. I walked to the fence and looked Eddie in the eyes, those kind brown eyes. I felt my fear dissolving again, watched that imaginary cloud disappear.

"I had a great dinner. I waited around for you because I wanted to thank you. I don't need any more money. I just really appreciate your kindness. It helps. I was a medic in 'Nam."

We visited for a few moments. I began to feel badly about the fence. I was safe. There was no danger. I thought about the many kinds of fences we put up in our lives, and about how much we shut out. My fear was gone. We laughed and joked a bit. I told him I had to get on my way, as I had a long drive home. "You be good, Eddie," I said. "God loves you a lot."

"God loves you, too."

I got in my car and looked back at the place where he had been, but there was only a pool of light from the streetlamp.

Alex Noble

COURTESY OF RICHARD GRAY GALLERY, CHICAGO

'BLUE SKY OVER BOW' (1992-93): *Oil and enamel on canvas, 52 by 62 in., by Jim Dine.*

How They Made Hay In His Day

MY reminiscences here about old-time haying, with racks of loose hay and an unloader powered by a horse that tried to trod on my barefoot tootsies, certainly aroused the doddering remnants of those golden days. A pile of letters makes me wonder if our ultimately computerized era will ever have memories of like warm values.

Thanks to one letter from a New Hampshire woman named Whitney, a price has been established for our recurring thoughts. She tells how her family harvests some 5,500 bales of hay in their modern operation, not to feed out but to sell. She asks what hay sold for in those times.

Somewhere around $20 a ton.

We never sold much hay, but now and then we would buy. Our barn would hold a hundred tons of loose hay, and if we got that much under cover it would be poking the rafters.

Loose hay, stuffed to the rafters in hot June and July, would begin to settle soon, but if we had a load or two more to bring in, the youngsters would be sent up to "tread mow." They'd crawl around and jump and frolic, and make some more room. After that, playing in the hay was not encouraged, as cows were fastidious – for which our word was "notional." They'd skip worked-over hay.

Farmers tried to "come out even" on hay. At Candlemas a guess would be made – "... half your wood and half your hay." If you

JOHN GOULD

didn't have enough hay to carry your herd through to green grass, you'd sell a couple of heifers. If you were going to have some hay left over, there was always a neighbor who would need "a little."

All loose hay.

There was baled hay then, but not in this context.

Most towns had an entrepreneur who cut hay on speculation, stored it, pressed it, and shipped it to the cities. Cities grew no hay, but had plenty of dray horses, lots of driving horses, and police and fire horses.

Every city also had a haymarket square, some of which persist in name only.

Our town had two hay dealers, Sam Fitts and Ed Bartol, who shipped to Boston's Haymarket Square. They would cut all the hay they could find in the summer, store it, and just after Christmas would begin to press and ship.

Each had a press powered by a steam engine, and the engine could also be used for threshing in season. They needed hands for this operation, so there was employment competition with the iceman, who would begin to harvest his pond about the same time.

The pressed hay came to town by sled and at the team track was loaded into boxcars. Brokers in Boston would find buyers, and then Sam and Ed would get their money.

Even though little hay was bought and sold locally, our feed store always kept some on hand, and a few times I'd go to get a bale for our family bossy with my hand sled. Twine is used in field baling today, but those old hay presses used baling wire. Under a wire would be tucked a little tag with figures showing the weight of the bale.

The numbers would range from 95 to 105, with 100 being the averaged goal. Call it a dollar. Field bales, today, weigh less than that, even though they are made from newly cut grass and our old hundredweight bales were made from hay cured in the mow for at least five months.

Some of those old hay brokers in the cities could be unscrupulous, and they had a way of cheating the shippers. They would claim the hay shipped was inferior quality, whether it was or not, and refuse to send the agreed price. The shipper had no after-the-fact recourse, but he could be prepared.

Each town had a minor official called the Inspector of Hay. His certificate attested the quality grade, and a broker couldn't go behind his signature.

Sam Fitts and Ed Bartol always had each shipment inspected before it went into the boxcars.

However, no broker, Boston or otherwheres, chanced to notice that our town had two inspectors, who shared the official rubber stamp. They were Ed Bartol and Sam Fitts.

Sam inspected Ed's hay, and Ed inspected Sam's. They, between them, kept all the Boston hay brokers honest.

The Correcting Christ

MOST of us can use a little correcting now and then. Sometimes in big things. Sometimes in little things. But whatever the needed improvement, we can be grateful to be corrected because it brings us back into line with what is good and right. Correction comes in many forms, but there is one "corrector" who not only can get us to listen but who can make us *willing* to mend our ways. This corrector is Christ.

Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, tells us in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, "Christ is the true idea voicing good, the divine message from God to men speaking to the human consciousness." Christ makes us aware of our spiritual nature as the child of God. By voicing this truth about man, Christ corrects our mistaken beliefs and brings healing and redemption to our lives.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

In the Bible, John's Gospel tells us that when Christ Jesus spoke to the woman accused of adultery, he did not scorn her or condemn her. But he did say to her, "Go, and sin no more." This loving rebuke had the power to change the woman—to create in her a desire for righteous living. This is what Christ does. Christ knocks at the door of thought. We can listen and respond to Christ, Truth, and be willing to let it reach deep into our consciousness to govern our actions.

There was a time when I badly needed correction. But I was pretty sure of myself, and if anyone had tried to offer me advice, I would have rejected it. But God's gentle Christ can get through even the hardest shell of self-righteousness, turning us to God, omnipotent Love, as naturally as a flower turns toward light.

At the time, life seemed overwhelming and out of control. We had two young children and were living in a new community. I felt I simply was not keeping up with the demands on me as wife and mother. Though I prayed diligently, I felt far from God. Then one day the inaudible words "let God" came to my thought. It seemed as though everything around me stopped. Let God? Let God . . . what? "Let God govern them" was the answer.

I felt as though a kind, fatherly arm had been put around my shoulders and was urging me to be willing to listen. I was being corrected, and I knew it. But at last I was humble enough to want more from this tender wisdom that seemed to know just what the answer was. I went to a dictionary and looked up the word *let* and found the words: *allow, permit.*

When healing occurs, there is a moment when our recognition of what is good and true washes away that which is not good and not true, and this was that moment for me. I saw that I had become a very bossy person in our house! I had been trying (like many well-intentioned parents) to govern my family by telling them just what to do and how to do it! I felt inordinately responsible for everything everyone did. And without my knowing it, this approach was causing underlying currents of tension and anxiety.

Suddenly the meaning of the words "let God govern them" became clear. I saw that I must *allow* and *permit* God to govern His own creation. I realized that I could trust the power of God's government and step aside from the false assumption that I personally needed to control family members. I still needed to fulfill my responsibility as a wife and mother, but also I needed to accept the fact that the motherhood of God was guiding each of us rightly.

Over the next several days there were quite a few instances where I consciously had to hold myself back from telling the children or my husband just what I thought they should do. It took much effort, but each time I was tempted to be bossy, I reminded myself, "Let God govern them." And He did! The anxiousness and tension in the family relaxed and greater peace permeated our lives. This took place several years ago, but I still endeavor to let God govern me and my family as we fulfill our individual and collective responsibilities.

God is always with us, always ready to help us to take a step higher in our understanding of man's spiritual nature. And His correcting Christ has marvelous things in store for us when we are willing to listen and be corrected!

BIBLE VERSE

My son, despise not thou
the chastening of the Lord,
nor faint when thou art rebuked of him:
for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth,
and scourgeth every son
whom he receiveth.
If ye endure chastening,
God dealeth with you as with sons;
for what son is he
whom the father chasteneth not? . . .
We have had fathers of our flesh
which corrected us,
and we gave them reverence:
shall we not much rather
be in subjection
unto the Father of spirits, and live?
For they verily for a few days
chastened us after their own pleasure;
but he for our profit,
that we might be partakers of his holiness.
Now no chastening for the present
seemeth to be joyous, but grievous:
nevertheless afterward it yieldeth
the peaceable fruit of righteousness
unto them which are exercised thereby.
Hebrews 12:5–7, 9–11

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"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIALS

Provoking Moscow

TINY Estonia, one of the Baltic states that did so much to undermine the Soviet Union, is again driving Moscow crazy. A vote by the Estonian parliament on Monday makes significant demands on the status of the 600,000 ethnic Russians in Estonia.

By an overwhelming margin, the parliament voted that persons seeking to live in Estonia must apply for citizenship in the next two years. Those who do not qualify for citizenship – which requires a "good knowledge" of the Estonian language – could theoretically be forced to leave. Many Russians do not know Estonian.

The law will require citizenship of anyone born of parents that moved to Estonia after Stalin's 1940 annexation of the Baltic states. It sets a precedent for other former Soviet republics with Russian minorities, and this week both Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Kozyrev condemned the law in unusually strong language. A policy that could engender "ethnic cleansing" and "apartheid" were two of the phrases used. One Moscow newspaper said Estonia was provoking a "Yugoslavia scenario."

Certainly it seems illiberal to force large numbers of Russians, including those who have lived in Estonia for decades, to make a choice between staying and leaving. The Estonians are clearly "sticking it" to Moscow for years of repression. If Russians could be forced out of homes or apartments this would humiliate Russians everywhere, raise questions of basic human rights, and give extremists grounds for a backlash.

At the same time, sovereign states may form their own citizenship requirements. Estonia has proven itself to be a post-Soviet economic miracle with a new currency and exports to Europe that have gone from $50 million to $425 million in two years. They want to regularize citizenship so that stateless persons have a status. The Estonians are being tough. The question is, are they fair? How difficult, for example, is the language test? Deporting Russians set up to fail is extreme; will Tallinn take that step?

What the Russians in Estonia must face is that they are no longer the rulemakers. An independent Estonia is a change many Russians have trouble facing psychologically. They are stuck with the dilemma of not wanting to return to Russia, but not wanting to integrate into Estonian life. Now it appears they must commit. That is not asking too much – if handled fairly, with minimum provocation.

Keep Pressure on Lagos

IN nullifying this month's presidential election, Nigeria's military government justified its action on the dubious grounds that lawsuits prompted by the vote made a "ridiculous charade" of the balloting.

What has made a ridiculous charade out of the elections, which were judged free and fair by international observers, are the government's refusal to abide by the outcome and its dissolution of the National Election Commission, the government panel responsible for returning the nation to democracy.

Wednesday's annulment and dissolution marked the fourth time in three years that the nation's leader, Maj. Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, has shifted the schedule for a return to civilian rule. He had promised to return the country to civilian rule by Aug. 27.

The June 12 vote had been delayed by a series of lawsuits. Plaintiffs included the Association for a Better Nigeria, which consists of wealthy business leaders, politicians, and military officers who back the regime. Last week the ABN won a court order preventing the election council from releasing the election results – despite General Babangida's pre-election assertion that the courts could not be allowed to interfere with the election process.

At the time of the court order, Social Democratic Party candidate Moshood Abiola held a significant lead over Bashir Tofa, of the National Republican Convention. Mr. Abiola was the first national candidate whose support cut across ethnic and religious lines. A Yoruba chief and a Muslim, Abiola comes from the southern, Yoruba-dominated part of the country. The region's residents have long resented the domination of national politics by the Hausa-Falani, who live mainly in the north.

In response to Lagos's action, the United States and Britain have lodged strong diplomatic protests. Both have suspended relatively small amounts of aid and are working with other European and African countries to develop a more coordinated response. Further options could include freezing assets and visas for those in power, in addition to reviewing proposals to restructure Nigeria's external debt. These should be pursued.

Ultimately, pressure must come from Nigerians. Human rights groups in the country are calling for strikes. Yet voter turnout for the election was only 37 percent. Disillusionment and cynicism may be the biggest threat to a return to civilian rule.

Free-trade pact's proponents can and should make a much stronger case for how well it will serve US economic needs

NAFTA Benefits the US And North-South Neighbors

By Charles H. Percy and David M. Sloan

THE North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the ambitious trilateral pact designed to reduce trade barriers between the United States, Canada, and Mexico, is under attack.

According to Ross Perot and critics hoping to block congressional approval, NAFTA fails to bridge differences between the US and Mexico on wages and other worker rights – differences they insist will lead to a massive migration of American jobs to Mexico if NAFTA is implemented.

This argument is both factually wrong and dangerous. NAFTA's real problem is that its proponents need to make a better case on how the agreement fundamentally serves the US national interest. To set the record straight, there are three overriding reasons why Americans should support and the Congress should approve NAFTA:

Broader economic, political, and security considerations make NAFTA's approval by Congress absolutely imperative.

■ It is essential to US economic growth.

■ America will gain, not lose jobs.

■ Broader economic, political, and security benefits flow from the accord.

NAFTA's biggest selling point is the key role it can play in any domestic economic stimulus program. Increased exports have accounted for roughly 70 percent of US economic growth since 1989. And sales to Mexico and the rest of Latin America have grown faster than to any other regional grouping.

US-Mexican bilateral trade has doubled since 1988. Shipments to Mexico now comprise 10 percent of total US exports, and the the US enjoyed a $5.5 billion trade surplus with Mexico last year.

Under NAFTA, already-low US tariffs will remain at essentially the same levels while Mexican tariffs, 25 percent higher than the US's on average, will be reduced substantially. The result? Projected increases in US exports to Mexico ranging from 5.2 percent to 27.1 percent, and a gain in gross domestic product of roughly $30 billion a year once the agreement is fully phased in.

The second reason to support NAFTA is that the export-led growth it will stimulate will result in an overall increase in US jobs. The assertion that NAFTA will cause huge American job losses to Mexico is as false as it is emotionally charged.

The salient fact is that NAFTA will result in a net employment gain, not drain, of about 1 percent for the US. More than 20 studies have examined NAFTA's economic effects, and all of the independent investigations show a "win-win" jobs scenario for the US, Canada, and Mexico.

Our trade with Mexico already accounts for 600,000 American jobs, and the number could reach 1.5 million before the end of the decade.

As an insurance measure, the US, Canada, and Mexico are currently negotiating supplemental agreements on labor and environmental standards, as well as on protection from import "surges," that should allay any lingering fears about southward job migration as a result of NAFTA.

Finally, broader economic, political, and security considerations make NAFTA's approval by Congress imperative. The consequences reach far beyond North America.

On the positive side, NAFTA's approval would provide a fillip for America's other efforts to liberalize trade, especially in the multilateral trade negotiations known as the Uruguay Round. Its success would flag US willingness to treat our southern neighbors on an equal basis, reinforcing the growing trade relationships that are crucial for our economies and vital to continuing political stability in Latin America. Through the centuries, political friendships have tended to follow the trade lanes.

Congress's rejection of NAFTA would, on the other hand, generate tremendous negative spill-over.

NAFTA's failure would send the dangerous signal to our trading partners around the globe that the US prefers to pursue a unilateral trade policy rather than one based on cooperation and mutual benefit.

The negative security effects would be equally devastating, threatening continued economic liberalization and political stability in Mexico and possibly leading to greater illegal immigration.

Politically, a US rejection of NAFTA would damage relations with the whole of Latin America, undercutting our efforts to foster closer ties with and bolster the regions' still fragile democracies.

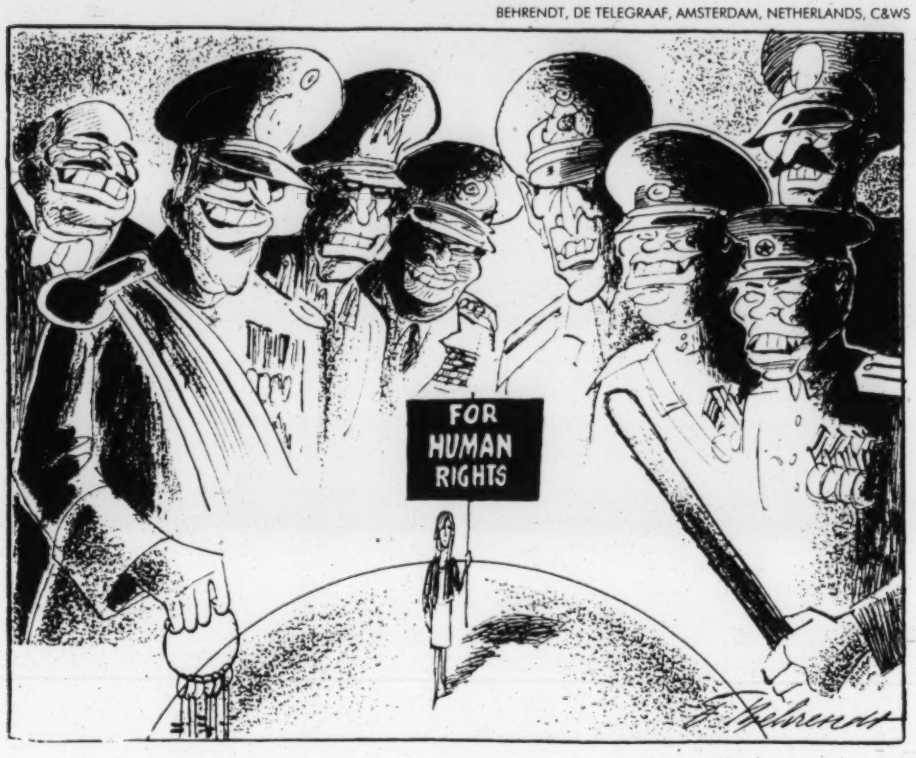
With the anti-NAFTA campaign in full swing, it is crucial that Americans fully understand how and why the agreement advances our national interest.

To paraphrase Mr. Perot, what's at stake for the American people is indeed that "giant sucking sound" – not from losing US jobs to Mexico, but rather from the economic gains and American leadership that would go down the drain if NAFTA fails to be approved.

■ *Charles H. Percy, the former chairman of Bell & Howell Company and chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the US Senate, is a Washington-based trade consultant, as is David M. Sloan.*

OPINION/ESSAYS

BEHRENDT, DE TELEGRAAF, AMSTERDAM, NETHERLANDS, C&WS



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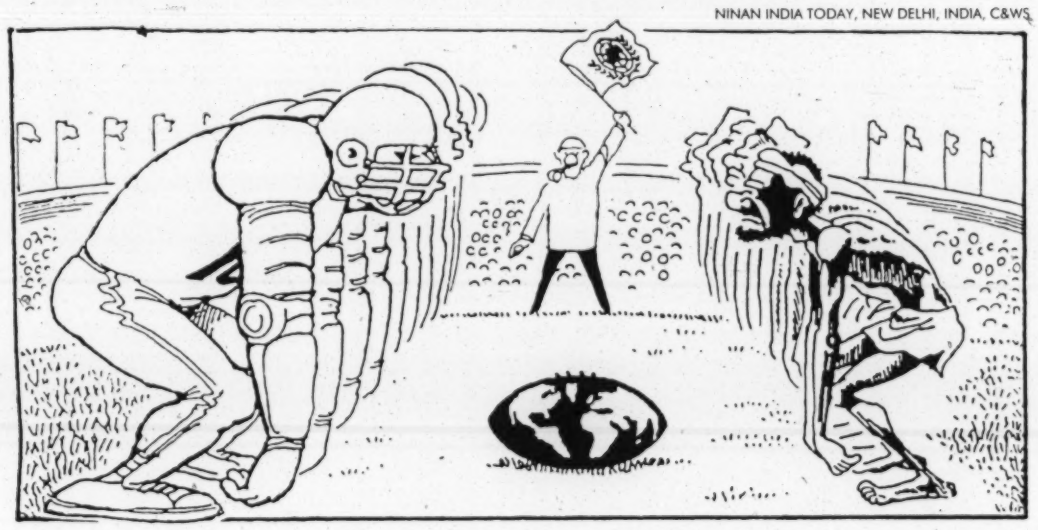


CONCLUSIONS DRAWN

VLAHOVIC, NIN, BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA, C&WS

The Last of the Shoguns

JAPAN'S lame-duck prime minister, Kiichi Miyazawa, is being compared these days to Keiki Tokugawa, Japan's last feudal shogun. Keiki, a person with an intelligent and forceful personality, was outmaneuvered by a group of younger samurai from several different fiefdoms and had to yield power in 1868 to the younger Emperor Meiji.

The imperial government was in fact run by these same young samurai, mostly from the feudal domains of Satsuma and Choshu. They exchanged their topknots and the two swords only samurai could wear (one sword was to commit suicide to avoid dishonor) for Victorian frock coats. The Emperor donned Western military uniform, and the court ladies adopted the latest Parisian fashions. These were only the outward symbols of revolutionary changes that brought an isolated feudal land into the modern world.

The political transformation Japan requires today is much less dramatic, at least on the surface. But if Mr. Miyazawa is being compared to the last ruler of a crumbling dynasty, it is because those who do so see Japan needing far-reaching changes that go well beyond tinkering with the electoral system. These changes will not only affect the beleaguered Liberal Democrats, the party that has ruled Japan for the past half century, but will eventually transform the country's political, economic, and social systems.

Commodore Perry's "black ships" – as the Japanese called his menacing squadron – dropped anchor off a port near the shogun's capital in 1853. They returned in 1854 and forced on a reluctant government a treaty opening the country to trade with the rest of the world. For 200 years before that, the Tokugawas kept the country sealed – allowing trade only with the Dutch at the port of Nagasaki.

TAKASHI OKA

The 15 years from 1853 to 1868 were a time of ferment. Some of the samurai who later formed the Meiji government started out opposing the shogun with the slogan, "Revere the emperor and expel the barbarians." Others smuggled themselves abroad, to learn firsthand how much more advanced than Japan the Western countries were in government, economics, and science.

Keiki, shogun at the end of those 15 years, tried desperately to maintain the feudal system while reforming it from within; he tried to open the country but control the process. He failed. There simply wasn't enough adaptability within the rigid, hierarchical Tokugawa system to withstand the sudden influx of so many competing new ideas.

Many scholars and analysts, Japanese and Western, believe that the changes brought about by the fall of the shoguns and the advent of Meiji's centralized, Western-style government have not been completed even today. Perhaps Japan needs a new Perry, with his "black ships." I'm not sure the Clinton administration, with its insistent demands for market-opening and for reducing Japan's huge surplus with the United States, is entirely qualified to play that role.

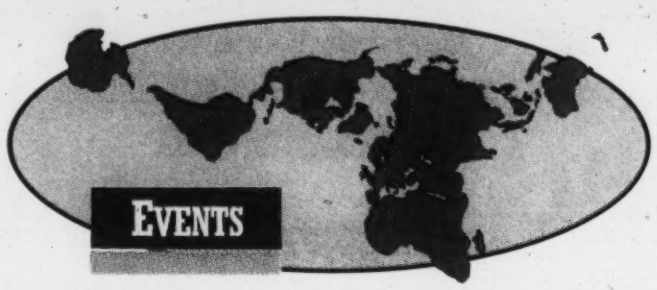
But just as Perry's demand for open trade started a process that eventually broke down a whole set of other barriers, so Washington's demands today resonate within Japan's body politic – the farmers, workers, students, business people, bureaucrats, and politicians who sense, with varying degrees of clarity, that for the sake of its own viability, the country has got to change.

Of course there is stiff resistance to the idea of change, from within the same sectors of society that admit the need for it. But Japan is no longer an isolated island country. Its volume of trade with the world and its financial and industrial clout are enormous. The parallel with Tokugawa Japan is valid only in the mental sense, the sense of a people and a government clinging to a structure that no longer responds to today's needs.

The barriers must come down. Mentally, and not merely in trade, Japan must join the world. That means pain and a variety of competing prescriptions.

This week two new parties formed from the splintering Liberal Democrats. Tsutomu Hata, leader of the larger group, is described as a prime ministerial candidate of a unified opposition in the election scheduled for July 18. Almost certainly the Liberal Democrats will lose their majority. Miyazawa may well be removed as Japan's last ruler under the current system of one-party government.

The outlines of what will follow are far from clear. But the July 18 election has the potential for becoming a turning point in Japanese history as fateful as the 1868 shift from feudalism to modernity.



EIGHT ARRESTED IN PLOT TO KILL OFFICIALS

Eight men with Muslim extremists ties have been arrested on charges of plotting to kill the secretary-general of the United Nations, a US senator, and the president of Egypt, and to blow up major buildings and highway tunnels, police officials said Thursday. The bombing targets included two tunnels linking New York City to New Jersey, UN headquarters, and FBI headquarters in New York. Police said those arrested were followers of Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, an Egyptian cleric who calls for the overthrow of Egypt's government from self-imposed exile in New Jersey. Other followers of Sheikh Rahman were arrested in the Feb. 26 bombing of the World Trade Center.

Kurdish attacks in Europe

Militant Kurds attacked Turkish embassies, consulates, and businesses in five European countries yesterday, taking hostages and staging violent protests in a coordinated series of actions.

The militants – demanding an end to Turkish military campaigns against Kurdish separatists – staged attacks in Germany, Switzerland, France, Sweden, and Denmark. At least one protestor died.

Kurdish militants have long fought for independence for the Kurdish region in southeastern Turkey.

Talks on Bosnia proposal

Proposed map lines remain vague, and Bosnia's Muslim-led government remains officially opposed. Yet the Croat-Serb proposal that Bosnia become a confederation of three ethnic mini-states seems to be slowly gaining ground.

Seven members of Bosnia's collective presidency attended talks in Geneva June 23 and 24, and intend to meet with European Community leaders in Brussels Saturday. EC and UN mediators say they were disappointed with some of the proposals and by the vagueness of proposed borders.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic says Muslims would get the wealthiest part of the country and should grab what he called their "last chance" for a reasonable peace settlement.

UN economy survey

The United Nations predicted yesterday that the global economy would stay in a slump, marked by stagnation in the United States and other wealthy nations, a decline in Eastern Europe, but startling growth in China. The survey forecast that worldwide growth would rise by only 1.5 percent this year and 3 percent in 1994, with oil prices expected to remain at an average of $18 a barrel in 1993.

German court ruling

Germany's high court in the southwestern town of Karlsruhe ruled Wednesday that the government need not meet a demand from the opposition Social Democrats to withdraw almost 300 troops already sent to Somalia.

The government, trying to give Germany a bigger role in international peacekeeping, would only be allowed to send the rest of its 1,700-strong contingent due in Somalia by mid-August "insofar as parliament decides this."

Supreme Court decisions

Prosecutors may be forced to pay monetary damages for the actions they took while investigating a crime, the Supreme Court ruled yesterday. In a separate vote in the same case, the court ruled unanimously that prosecutors also do not have absolute legal immunity for their ouit-of-court statements, such as those at news conferences, about grand jury indictments.

In another decision, the Supreme Court ruled that states may make it easier to commit mentally retarded people to state facilities against their will than it is to commit the mentally ill. The court said the Constitution does not require the same standards for the retarded and the mentally ill in involuntary commitment proceedings.

Boston TV station sold

Boston University announced Wednesday that it purchased Boston television station WQTV from The First Church of Christ, Scientist, for $3.8 million. The station will "give outstandingly qualified students ... increased opportunities for internships in one of the nation's leading broadcast markets," said BU president John Silber in a statement. The Christian Science Church originally purchased the TV station for $7.5 million in 1986.

–Compiled by Faye Bowers

The Budget Debate

Nigeria and Democracy

In the article "US Redirects Africa Policy," May 26, the author mentions a visit by the Nigerian head of state to Washington, stating, "Clinton refused to meet with Maj. General Ibrahim Babangida when the Nigerian military leader visited Washington recently."

This statement is incorrect. President Babangida has never visited Washington since assuming office.

It is unfair to identify Mr. Babangida with dictatorship. Immediately on assuming office as president, he released political detainees held without trial, abrogated a decree making it an offense for journalists to criticize public officials and later introduced a carefully phased program of political transition. Consequently, democratically elected political institutions are now operating in Nigeria at the local, state, and federal levels of government. Primary elections for presidential nomination have also taken place in March this year, and the two Nigerian political parties selected candidates for presidential election held on June 12, 1993.

Zubair M. Kazaure ***Washington***
Nigerian Amabassador to the US

Editor's note: General Babangida did not in fact visit the United States, but US officials sent clear signals that President Clinton would not receive the general.

Who's wallowing in water?

While your article "California Rethinks Water Issues," June 3, is timely, it incorrectly states that farmers are using 80 percent of the state's water and implies that the environment is getting shortchanged. Although about 80 percent of the developed water is used for irrigated agriculture, this represents less than 30 percent of the total water supply of the state. Environmental uses such as scenic rivers, instream uses, and wetlands compromise 65 percent of this total runoff.

Recent demands by environmentalists to take from agriculture's 30 percent to dump additional water into the ocean in unproven efforts to protect endangered species will severely reduce irrigated acreage in an agricultural state, affect our food supply, and substantially increase unemployment.

Certainly there is more competition for California's limited water supply, but let's not give agriculture a bad rap in describing it.

Arnold S. Rummelsburg ***Bakersfield, Calif.***

When inventions demand secrecy

The Opinion page article "Keep 'First to File' Patent Rule Pending," June 7, makes a strong case against a "first to file" patent system for our country.

However, many competitive businesses need a mix of patent protection and secrecy. Often the only way to protect innovations against imitative competitors is to keep them secret.

Under the present system, a choice must always be made to either file a patent application on an innovation or try to keep it secret. The "prior-user rights" provision in the proposed "first to file" system can minimize the risk that someone will independently invent and patent an innovation that another company had already invented and invested in but chose to maintain as a secret.

Under the patent system's arcane rules, the "first to invent" by law may not be the true first inventor. This is the real problem that should be addressed by any reform.

Alex R. Sluzas ***Elkins Park, Pa.***

Desperate measures

The author makes some important points in the Opinion page article "Cleaning Up the Small Screen," June 3. However, he does not mention one solution that a small yet growing number of people have found here: Get rid of the television and rediscover the art of serious reading and the quiet, more satisfying voice of decent radio.

A radical step, perhaps, but one that enriches one's own life and sends a strong message to television executives that something cleaner and better is needed on our TV screens.

Alistair Budd ***London***

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published, subject to condensation, and none acknowledged. Please fax letters to (617) 450-2317 or address them to "Readers Write," One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115.